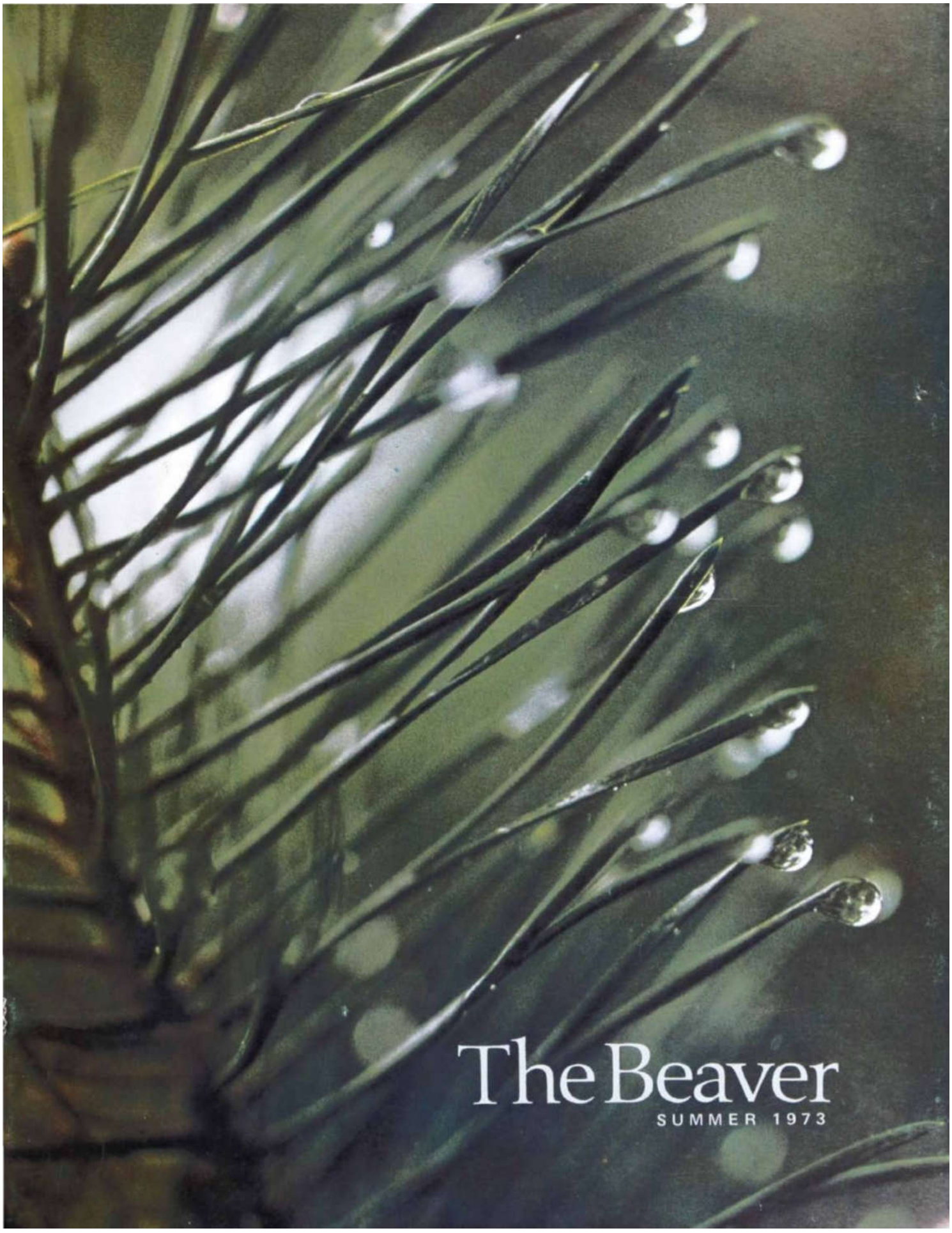

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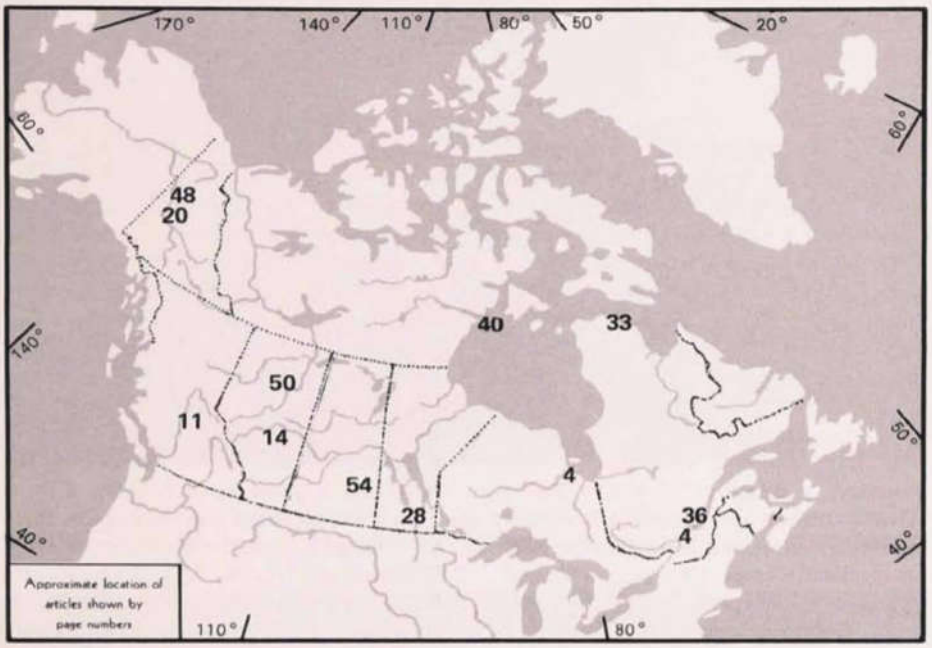

CONTENTS

McNAB'S JOURNEY OF 1812 4
Elaine Allan Mitchell

ICE AGE MOUNTAIN GOAT 11
C. R. Harington

THE McDOUGALLS 14
Iris Allan

ARTISTS OF THE KLONDIKE 20
Jennifer Bunting

PRAIRIE SUMMER 28
Photographs by Len and Joyce Holmes

PETROGLYPHS OF HUDSON STRAIT 33
Fred Bruemmer

36 **BEAVER CLUB**
— at the Sign of The Queen Elizabeth
Shirlee A. Smith

40 **WHALING IN HUDSON BAY**
Part II: Whaling Voyage of the 'Ocean Nymph'
W. Gillies Ross

48 **SOURDOUGH THERMOMETER**
Dianne Newell Macdougall

50 **BUILDING A BIRCH-BARK CANOE**
Albert Burger

54 **REDISCOVERING FORT PELLY**
Deanna M. Christensen

60 **NORTHERN BOOKS**

COVER: Pine in summer rain, by Lillian Allen

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McNAB'S JOURNEY OF 1812

MOOSE FORT TO MONTREAL

By Elaine Allan Mitchell

UNTIL SELKIRK'S SETTLEMENT finally embittered the last phase of the struggle between the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, relations between the Canadian and English traders south of James Bay were largely unmarred by serious discord, a situation partly due no doubt to the fact that the Canadians there always had the upper hand in the trade and could afford to be generous. Visits between rival posts in the same quarter were common and personal relationships cordial even during the years 1800-6 when the Nor'Westers settled on James Bay itself; John George McTavish, the senior Nor'Wester on the Bay, married, according to the custom of the country, a daughter of Moose Fort's Governor John Thomas. Alexander McDougall, master of Fort Abitibi, admirably expressed the Canadian view in 1794 when he received George Gladman, who had come to build a Hudson's Bay post on Abitibi Lake, 'with much Kindness', observing 'that he hoped however opposite our Interests were as far as regarded Trade, We might live on Terms of Personal Civility together though' he said, 'at the same time we must Expect when a Pack of Furrs was to be got our Zeal for our Employers would create temporary Disputes, but they would avoid Personal Animosities, which I assured him was equally opposite to my Sentiments'. The English sometimes found it hard to reconcile the Canadians' ruthless opposition with their policy of friendly intercourse and mutual aid at other times but on the whole the compromise worked well and showed itself at its best in 1812 when John McNab became the first Hudson's Bay officer to journey from Moose Fort to Montreal.

In the autumn of 1811, as sometimes happened in years of severe ice conditions in the Arctic, the Moose ship, the *Prince of Wales*, was unable to leave the Bay and returned to winter at Strutton Island. The situation was always a serious one. Besides the loss occasioned by the detention of the ship and the great inconvenience to the passengers and crew, Moose Fort was faced with the problem of limited food supplies and the Committee at home not only deprived of its furs but the information required to furnish men, goods, and provisions for the following year. When the Company had settlements only on the shores of the Bay there was obviously nothing to be done but by this time it had been established at inland posts for well over a quarter of a century and its servants were much more at home in the interior. Even more significantly, for seven years Moose Fort had seen the Canadians coming and going between Montreal and James Bay with apparent ease and had become better acquainted with its rivals. All these considerations doubtless inspired John McNab, a former governor of York Fort who had just returned in the *Prince of Wales*, to volunteer to carry a packet to London by way of Montreal and New York, and Governor Thomas at once set about preparing an expedition, choosing James Russell (a clerk), Peter Spence, Alexander Belly, and three other servants to accompany him.

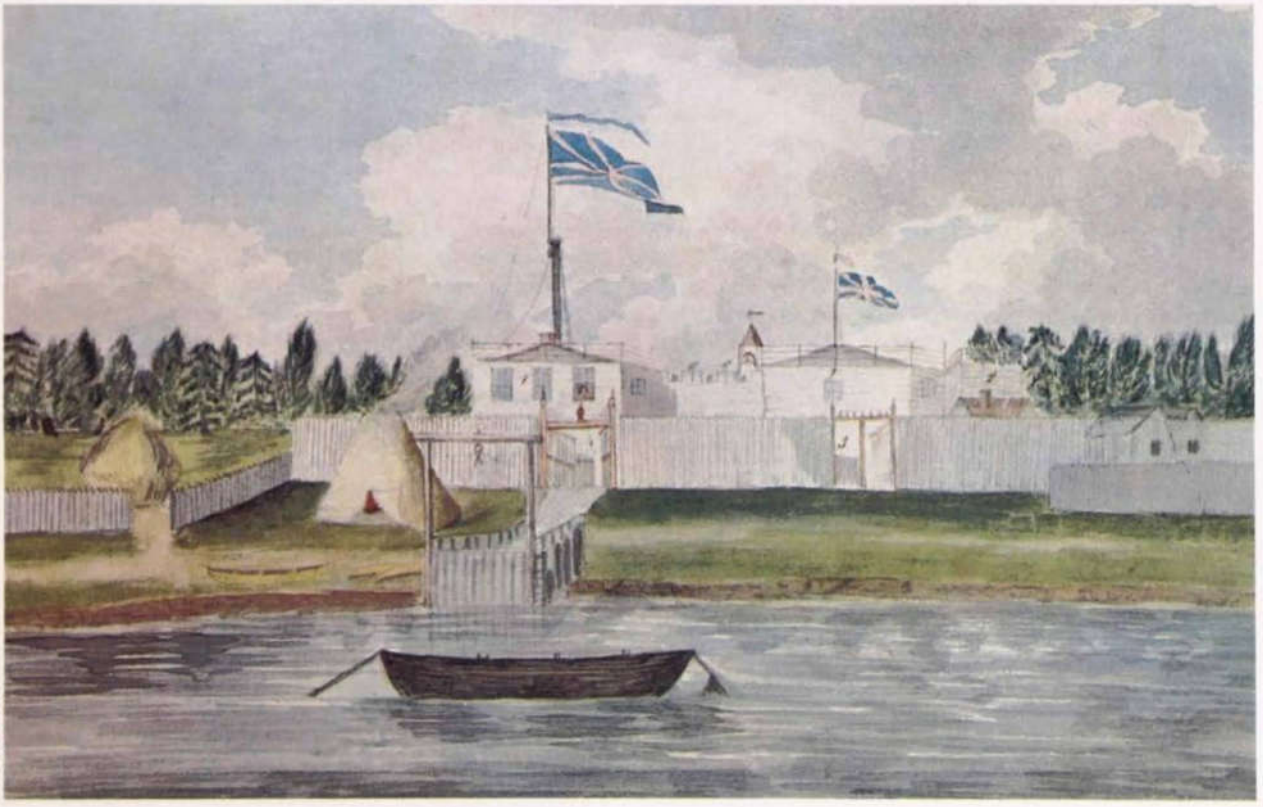
Thomas' *Instructions* to McNab are dated Moose Fort, December 14, 1811. He was 'to proceed with all prudent dispatch to the Abbi. Settlement Mr Richard Good Master at Abbi is instructed to afford you every Assistance in his power, from him you will receive a supply of Provisions, and the two men who assist in conveying your supplies to Abbitibi will be by him exchanged for fresh hands who will attend you to Temeskemain Lake, or as far as you find necessary – Our entire want of knowledge of the country you have to pass through between the above Lake and Montreal renders it impossible to give you any positive Instructions which may assist you in this part of your journey – We hope that on the banks of the Utaways [Ottawa] River you will find Settlers whom the Bills of Exchange with which you are furnished will enable you to purchase the means of prosecuting your journey to Montreal with Comparative ease.' Once in Montreal, Thomas continued, McNab was to apply for help in getting to New York to the lawyer the Company had retained to defend William Corrigal and two others accused of murder by the North West Company and sent down to Canada for trial. However should 'so unfortunate a circumstance as the Commencement of Hostilities with the United States' prevent his proceeding to New

---

Mrs Mitchell, a graduate in history from McMaster University, has done extensive research on the Temiskaming district. Quotations from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives are made with permission of the Company.

CHATEAU DE RAMEZAY (MONTREAL)

Montreal (above) and Moose Fort on James Bay, as they were near the time of McNab's journey. The engraving of Montreal is from a drawing by Richard Dillon and the Moose Fort water-colour is by William Richards, who was employed at the fort from 1804 to 1811.

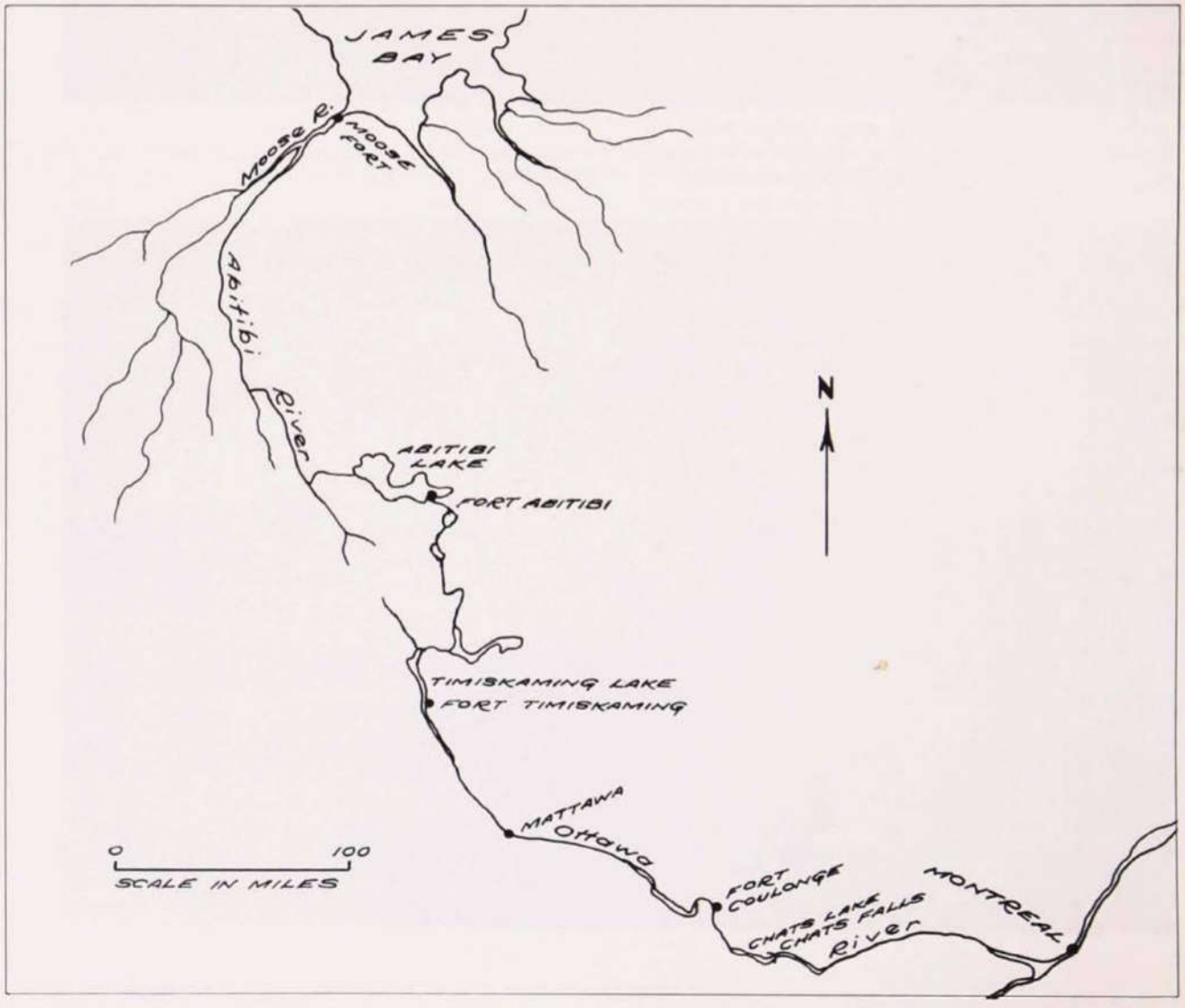


H B C ARCHIVES

York, he should remain in Canada until the spring break-up allowed him to embark for London.

Thomas' instructions were based on the assumption that Good would be able to supply McNab's party and provide a guide to Fort Timiskaming, last visited by a Hudson's Bay man in 1794. Yet he cannot have been ignorant of the fact that Good, like most Hudson's Bay masters inland, was perennially short of provisions. The slowness of Orkney servants to adapt to forest ways, as well as frequent changes in personnel, had so far prevented their attaining the Canadians' knowledge of the country or their skill in hunting and fishing, while the recent retrenching program had restricted still more an always deficient amount of imported provisions. Moreover Thomas must have been well aware of the strength of Canadian influence on Abitibi Lake and the reluctance, even of Good's customers, to offend them unnecessarily by guiding their opponents to Fort Timiskaming. It is clear that he counted, with some justification, on the willingness of the Canadians to help in an emergency. This supposition is confirmed by McNab's reaction on arriving at Abitibi House on 11 January 1812, and finding Good, as usual, short of supplies; he immediately sent a letter to McDougall at Fort Abitibi, asking him to dine on the morrow.

McDougall declined the invitation, having no men at home, but he returned the courtesy and next morning McNab, Good, and Russell called at Fort Abitibi. According to McNab's *Journal,* after the usual compliments, McDougall 'expressed his wonder at so hazardous an undertaking said he would not [go] for £500 &c and expressed difficulties great which we must expect further on – finding us determined he made us hope for every Aid in his power – that he would afford us a



HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The 'winter packet' c. 1890, on its way from Moose Factory to Abitibi. For many decades following McNab's journey mail was taken out in this way, by snowshoe and dog-team.

Guide to Temescamaing and assist us with provisionary supplies – entertained us hospitably and again invited us to dine with him to Morrow.'

Perhaps McNab exaggerated McDougall's words in order to put himself in a good light but if indeed he reported truthfully, either the Nor'Wester was having a bit of fun at the expense of the English tyros or he hoped to discourage them from going on. If the latter, it was certainly a half-hearted attempt for he entertained them handsomely, supplied them generously, adding a gift of brandy, rum and Indian corn, provided a guide in the person of William Polson, a former Hudson's Bay servant, and instructed Donald McKay, master of Fort Timiskaming, to assist them as far as Fort Coulonge.

McNab described McDougall's dinner for him, Russell and Good at Fort Abitibi on the 13th as consisting 'of Indian Corn, Pork, and Rabbits a liberal Mess of each with Wheaten loaf bread very fine . We then were regaled with Madeira wine', he added 'a 10 gn Keg of which he tapped on the occasion, the weather turning bad his conviviality exerted us to spend the night with him and he detained us to breakfast'. On 16 January the Hudson's Bay men were hosts to McDougall and his two clerks, Thomas Fraser and Polson, but McNab did not list the menu, observing only that they all 'spent a pleasant night (Noctes conaque deum) and this morng the 17th. at 5 AM they returned home'.

On 20 January the English party left Abitibi House, Thomas Knight, one of Good's men, replacing Alexander Belly and Knight's brother, John, ordered to accompany them to Fort Timiskaming and return with Polson. They stopped at Fort Abitibi for their guide and 'a departing glass', McNab recorded. A few days later McDougall sent a letter to Moose Fort, completing the picture of neighbourliness and accord. Touching on 'the unfortunate detention' of the ship and his own desire to help relieve the anxiety in England, he recounted what he had done for McNab, assuring Thomas that 'nothing further was in my power to serve him, & I am certain those Masters of the Posts to whom I have wrote will do their utmost to enable him to get forward & I am in much hopes of his succeeding'.

The journey to Fort Timiskaming was completed without difficulty, McNab and his party arriving before noon on 27 January. Canadian hospitality seems again to have excelled itself and McNab apparently was so busy enjoying himself that he did not bother to write up his *Journal* until he, Russell, Spence, and Knight, with McKay's oldest son as guide, were about to leave for Fort Coulonge on the 30th.

A controversial incident now followed. Six days later the party unexpectedly returned to Fort Timiskaming, McNab explaining in his *Journal* that unusually open water and an apprehensive guide had induced them to wait for colder weather. McKay, on the other hand, later reported to Moose Fort that McNab had come back in order to pass the winter with him and send his men to Abitibi; only when he (McKay) insisted on sending forward the packet did McNab set out a second time on 10 February. It is obvious that in placing the responsibility for the decision to turn back on McNab's shoulders, McKay's interest was to insure that neither he nor his son should be blamed for the delay but it is difficult to see what he had to gain from a misrepresentation of the facts and it may well be that McNab, who was under a cloud with the London Committee, had it in mind to solve his problems by joining the Canadians, only to be deterred by McKay's hostility. This, of course, is pure speculation, provoked by the discrepancy in the two accounts, although it is a fact that McNab never returned to Rupert's Land and that some years later we find him settled in Canada.

HBC COLLECTION

Fort Abitibi as it appeared around 1870, from a water-colour by Andrew Lockhart.

The Hudson's Bay party reached Mattawa on 14 February and Fort Coulonge on the 19th. Here the master was Joseph Godin, an old servant of the North West Company, who spoke no English but gave them a cordial welcome. One of his men was going the next day to the Chats with four Indians to buy provisions from a Mr Cameron, the farthest settler up the Ottawa, and McNab decided to accompany them, again well supplied by Godin and furnished with an introduction to Cameron.

The travellers had now passed the last North West post on their route but their way continued to be smoothed by the Company's influence with the settlers along the river. Cameron offered his only horse and sleigh to take them to his nearest neighbour, a man named Muresfield, whose farm was eighteen miles below the Chats. McNab, Russell, Cameron and an Indian driver shared the sleigh; Knight and Spence had to use snowshoes. The state of the road and depth of snow, however, soon forced the officers to join their men and in the end, they far outdistanced their sleighmates. The following day no horse could travel and at Cameron's request, Muresfield accompanied his guests on snowshoes to the next settler's, eleven miles below, a Mr Amstead, who was reputed to have a good pair of horses. They arrived before noon and Amstead agreed to start for Montreal the following morning.

McNab was now justified in thinking his journey almost over but he reckoned without the weather and the province's 'winter roads'. The first day, to be sure, they made twenty-six miles in spite of snowdrifts, spending the night at a tavern which could not boast tea-cups, supping and breakfasting on 'invariably similar' meals of 'Salt Pork Chops, or Beef Stakes, with Tea, or Coffee and at times both'. But on the 26th a severe storm halted them after five miles and since Amstead's horses could not go on, they faced the disagreeable prospect of resorting once more to snowshoes. Their host that day was a genial Irishman, formerly a sergeant in the British army, who had gin and brandy for sale and entertained them with tales of his adventures.

On the 27th they stopped for a midday meal at a tavern which McNab declared was only twenty feet square, but very clean and neat, in which stood a bed with a cross suspended at the head. The Canadian owner and his wife fed them on salt pork chops and potatoes and brandy or rum as they pleased. Resuming their snowshoes, they reached a house twenty-four miles from the Irishman's where they hired a sleigh to carry them another six miles to a Mr Grant's, to whom Donald McKay had given McNab an introduction. For this conveyance they had to pay what they considered the exorbitant sum of two dollars and were assessed an additional dollar for having stopped on the way to try and persuade a Frenchman to take them to Montreal; 'he said he would not for any money [the] road, being so bad'.

At Grant's they managed to hire two sleighs, one their host's, who refused however to go more than twenty-one miles; when he turned back they were fortunate enough to find a Frenchman to replace him. The roads were better now and hires cheaper but for the next two nights they slept at miserable huts, the second providing only hay for their beds and nothing to eat or drink except water; had it not been for their drivers, who shared their own pork and bread with them, they must have gone hungry. But the day afforded one agreeable diversion in the call they made on Nicholas Longmoor, a former Hudson's Bay officer living nearby.

At last, on the afternoon of 1 March, the English party was set down in Montreal at the public house where Corrigal lodged. Here McNab left Spence and Knight until he should find a boarding house for them, while he and Russell repaired to Gillis' hotel; 'having Letters to the Ajents of the NW Company whom I may have occasion to see I judge it prudent to be in a House of Respectability', he hastened to explain.

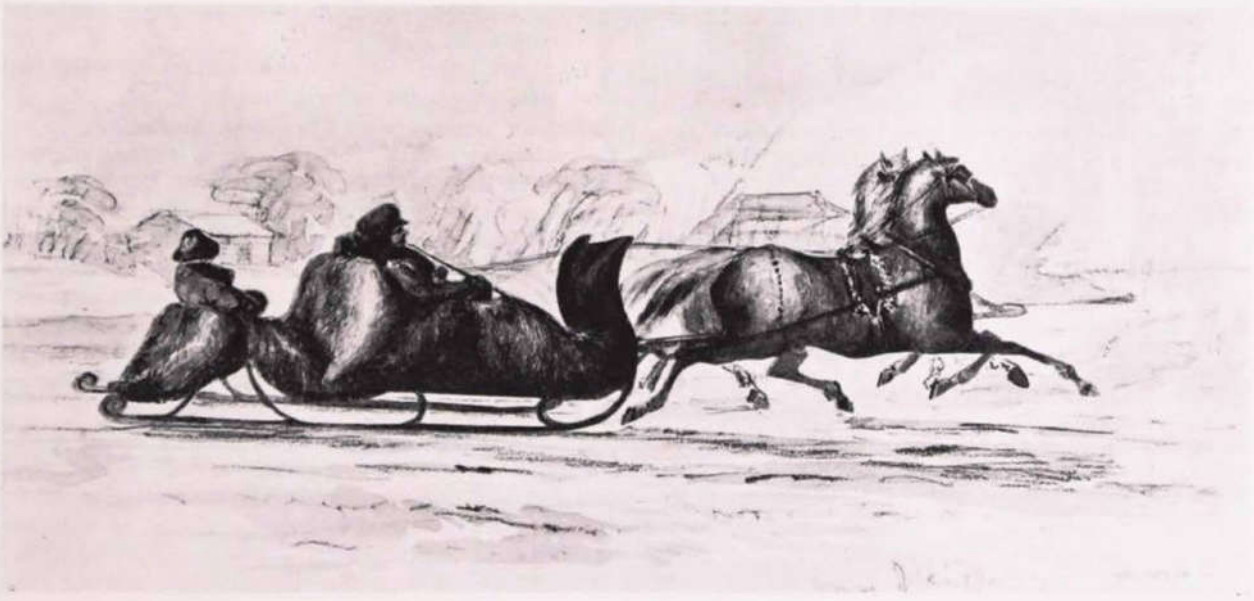
Corrigal's arrest was symptomatic of the deteriorating relationship between the two Companies in the Northwest and although McNab carried letters to McTavish, McGillivrays & Co. from the post commanders he had visited, he may have been uncertain of his reception in St Gabriel Street. He need have had no misgivings. Angus Shaw, William McGillivray's brother-in-law, was in charge during the latter's absence in England and he generously offered McNab every assistance in completing his journey. It was a lucky chance for McNab who had just learned that Corrigal's counsel was in Quebec. Moreover, as his *Journal* reveals, during the next few days Shaw and the other partners in town went out of their way to make his stay in Montreal agreeable.

On 3 March McNab called 'at the Hour appointed yesterday at the NWCos office found Mr Shaw there who desired one of the Writers to bring £50 Currency in Gold and dollars and at 4 p m sent his Cariole with a pair of fine Greys to the Hotel and with a Mr Mckenzie (formy Commander in the Athapusca) [the Hon. Roderick Mackenzie, Sir Alexander's cousin] went ¼ of a mile out of Town to Mr Shaws residence and there we dined and spent the evening

'March 4 I called this forenoon at the NWCos office as pr last nights appointment and recd. £100 in dollars and £150 in American Bank Notes – with this sum I hope the business will be effected – 4 of us to Clothe and maintain &c is expensive – Mr Mckenzie who is at present residing in the Hotel showed me much attention this day – we visited the Library, Nelsons Monument, the Prison, Town House [the City Hall], &c and inquired at the stage office when the sleigh sets out for New York as I am now anxious for going on . . . the stage sets out for N York on Friday the 6th Inst at Noon when I mean to leave Montreal – Mr Shaw accompanied me through their Store House, shewing the Variety and large Assortment of European Goods, and the preparations going on for their consignment for the numerous Posts in the interior – advised me where to board Peter Spence and Thomas Knight at the same time said they would be forwarded to Moose early next May'.

Meanwhile a Mr Auldjo, of the Montreal firm of Maitland, Garden & Auldjo, the Hudson's Bay Com-

Travel by sleigh and horses in 1844, depicted by H. G. Warre.



PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES, VICTORIA, B.C.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, TORONTO

Montreal, some twenty years after McNab's arrival. A drawing by Coke Smythe.

pany's agents in Canada, had repeatedly called at Gillis'; he wanted McNab's advice on the best way to send Justice of the Peace commissions [under the terms of the Canada Jurisdiction Act of 1803] to the Company's officers in the interior. 'March 5 Mr Shaw again accompanied me to their Office, after along conversation, pointed out on a chart the variations they intend making in the conveyance of Goods by Lakes Erie &c – expressed sorrow for the affair of Corrigal and Companions and that they should have been brought to Montreal but that he being a Justice of the Peace when they were brought to him at Grand Portage it became a duty incumbent on him to have them brought to the seat of justice – after my return to the Hotel Mr Aldjo again called and proposed sending one half of the Commissions for the Chiefs by the 2 men who came with me and the other half by me to London Saying he judged the Ajents of the NWCo. might object to their going by their Settlements but in this manner they might be forwarded without their knowledge – I told him it was my opinion that if any went by your Honors servants in a clandestine manner by the Channel of the NWCos Posts it would be unpleasent to them which they would eventually learn and in that case might not be satisfactory to your Honors – That it might be advisable to ask the Ajents permission in an open candid manner and if they discountenanced it to wait further orders from the Committee – he seemed to accord in my sentiments . . .

March 6 Mr Aldjo called at the Hotel this morng said he had determined to follow yesterdays proposals . . . Mr Mckenzie accompanied me to the NWCos Office, where I found Mr Shaw and the other Ajents, they presented to me a recommendatory Letter . . . to their Correspondts. in N York and Messrs Shaw, Mckenzie, Hollewell [William Hallowell] & Thane [Thomas Thain] accompanied me to the Hotel, had a glass of Wine and wished us a pleasant journey & voyage – soon after set out in the Stage for N York'.

We have no excuse to follow McNab further except to add that, after a day or so in New York, he and Russell sailed for Liverpool on 16 March in the *Fanny*, a vessel carrying cotton; in true retrenching fashion McNab eschewed the British packet because the fare was three times as much. The *Fanny* left port amid rumours that a British fleet was assembling at Halifax to come against the city and that a British sloop had attacked the American ship *Hannibal*. It was not an auspicious beginning for the voyage but nine days later, on 25 March, they sighted the Irish coast.

As for Spence and Knight they returned to the Bay in the spring, again most generously assisted by the Nor'Westers. When they reached Fort Timiskaming towards the end of May, their Iroquois guide refused to go on but McKay furnished them with another as far as Abitibi House. They arrived at Moose Fort on 14 June, having spent forty days on their way up from Montreal, the first two Hudson's Bay men to make the round trip.◆

The Ice Age Mountain Goat

By C. R. HARINGTON
Curator, Quaternary Zoology
National Museums of Canada, Ottawa

HOW LONG HAVE MOUNTAIN GOATS lived in British Columbia? A water-worn skull fragment from the Cariboo District has helped to answer this question. We are fortunate to have even this scanty evidence, for remains of alpine animals are generally rolled and battered in rushing mountain streams to such an extent that they are seldom preserved as fossils.

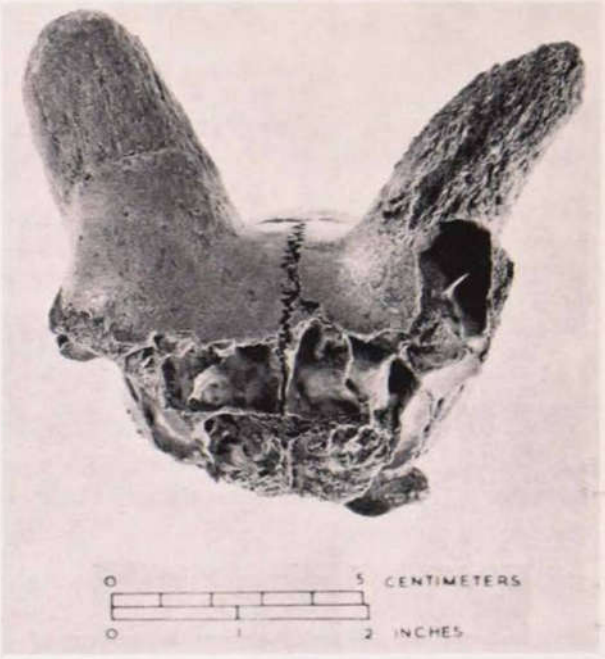
In 1932 Erle Anness, then manager of Morehead Mines Limited, collected the back part of a mountain goat skull from a deeply buried, gold-bearing gravel layer near Quesnel Forks. Fortunately, W. E. Cockfield of the Geological Survey of Canada was there to record its exact position in the sequence of deposits. This allowed me to make an estimate of the specimen's geological age. The fossil seemed to be relatively old because a tough conglomerate filled the braincase, and it was found in place beneath more than 275 feet of alternating boulder clay and gravel beds.

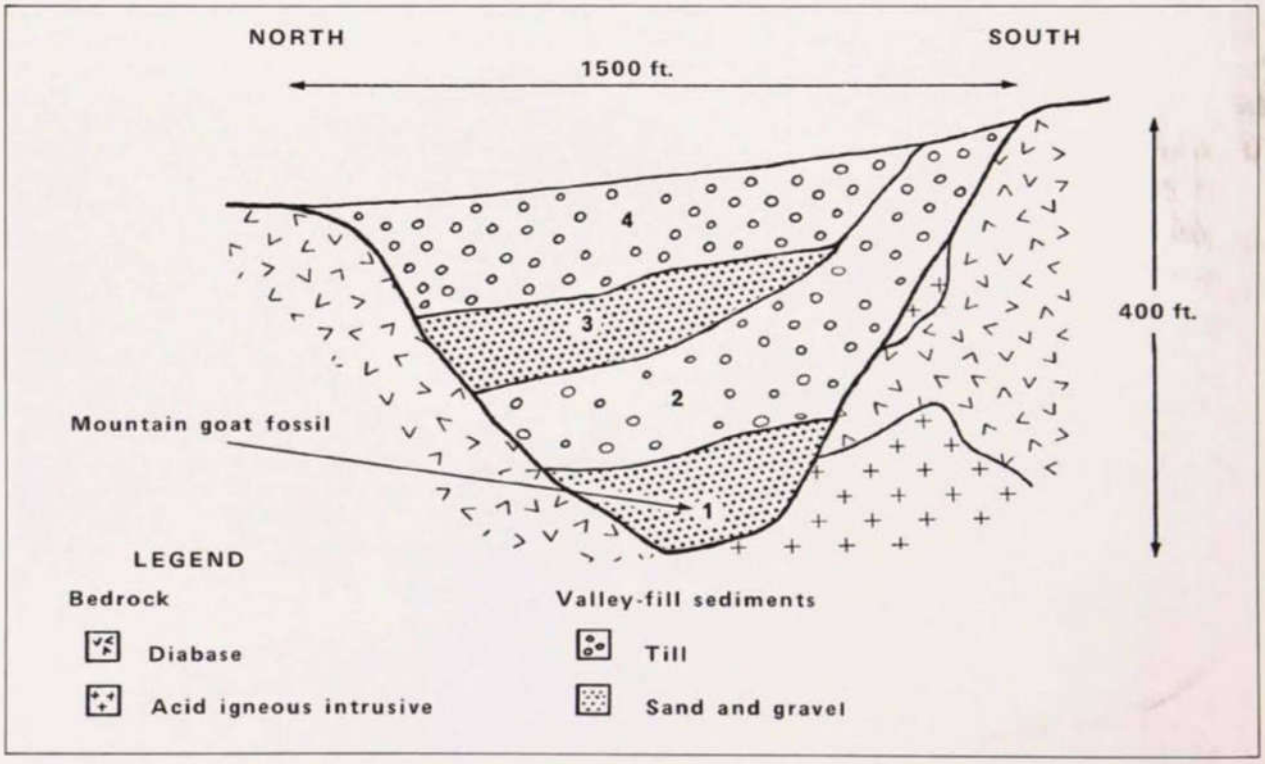
Boulder clay or 'till', as it is often called, is deposited during times of glaciation, whereas sand and gravel mentioned here are stream deposits which were laid down in periods when ice no longer covered the region. The topmost boulder clay at the fossil locality was probably deposited by ice which covered the

LEONARD LEE RUE III

The black dots on the map to the left show ice-age and postglacial mountain goat fossil localities, and the shaded area is the present range of the mountain goat.

Probably 70,000 years old, this fragment of a mountain goat skull was found near Quesnel Forks in British Columbia. The diagram below shows its position when discovered in the sequence of glacial tills and non-glacial sand and gravel beds.





Cariboo District towards the end of the last glacial period; the sand and gravel below it, by streams during a non-glacial interval in the middle of the last glaciation; the lower boulder clay, by ice during the early part of the last glacial period; and the lower sand and gravel, containing the mountain goat fossil, by streams of the last interglacial period. Therefore, mountain goats probably lived in British Columbia over 70,000 years ago during an interglacial era, when the landscape appeared much the way it does today.

Despite its goat-like appearance, the mountain goat is most closely related to the mountain antelopes of Eurasia. Its closest living relative is the chamois. Although the mountain goat and chamois are now confined to North America and Europe respectively, there is no evidence that they originated in either continent. Rather, they seem to have evolved in and dispersed from Asia during the early part of the ice age. The only other living mountain antelopes are the serow and the primitive-looking goral, which occupy mountainous areas of Asia. They may be considered as survivors near the centre of origin of the group.

Two further questions arise concerning the mountain goat. How did it get to North America, and how did it survive during glaciations when its home range in the mountains of British Columbia was virtually smothered by ice? In attempting to answer the first question, the existence of former land connections between North America and Eurasia must be considered. As great masses of ice (from moisture absorbed into the atmosphere from the seas and deposited as snow) built up and flowed over the land during glaciations, world-wide sea level dropped exposing land in the shallow Bering Strait region. The 'Bering Isthmus', a convenient term for this Siberian-Alaskan juncture, occurred at least four times during the four major glaciations of the last two or three million years spanned by the ice age.

The fossil from British Columbia suggests that mountain goats spread from the uplands of eastern Siberia to those of western Alaska during one of the earlier glaciations. It is easy to visualize these compact, sure-footed animals moving between the Chukotka and Seward peninsulas via the twin rises of what are now the Diomede Islands. The Diomede Islands and St Lawrence Island (which rose some 2,000 feet above the plains of the Bering Isthmus) could have provided favourable habitat for the animals, allowing them to spread across fairly short, intervening tracts of grassland to the northwestern Cordillera.

Another possibility is that mountain goats may have been forced to survive on the lower grasslands of the Bering Isthmus by ice expanding over their former alpine range during a glaciation. Perhaps a comparison is justified between present winter-summer mountain goat habitat involving a short term climatic fluctuation, and the species' glacial-interglacial habitat involving a longer term climatic variation covering thousands of years. In many areas mountain goats migrate beyond easy reach of the cliffs and broken rock that comprise their usual summer range to spend winters on sunny exposures in lower canyons and valleys where storms are less severe and preferred shrub and grass forage is more readily available. Sometimes deep winter snows in the Coast Range force mountain goats to sea level.

The second question is where mountain goats survived during glaciations. Expansion and retreat of ice sheets in British Columbia accompanying successive glacial and interglacial periods greatly influenced animal dispersal. During glacial phases ice would have spread over the Cordillera between about 48° N and 64° N, excluding mountain goats and other alpine mammals from the region. Two suitable survival areas or refuges were available to mountain goats at such times: the Beringian refuge in unglaciated areas of the Yukon and Alaska and extending across the Bering Isthmus into eastern Siberia; and the southern refuge – in this case the mountainous regions south of the Cordilleran ice sheet.

There is abundant evidence that mountain goats lived in the southern refuge. Fossils have been reported from Washington, California, Nevada, Arizona, and Mexico. It is worth noting that the most southerly specimens from Nevada, Arizona, and Mexico represent *Oreamnos harringtoni** – the only species other than the living one (*Oreamnos americanus*) which has been recorded from ice age deposits of North America. It was about two-thirds the size of the living mountain goat and had slightly longer horns with greater backward curvature. This small mountain goat apparently evolved from *Oreamnos americanus* herds which shifted southward during a glacial phase and became isolated in higher, cooler areas of southwestern North America as climate grew warmer again. It became extinct towards the end of the last glaciation when many large mammals such as mammoths and mastodons died out.

There is no satisfactory evidence that mountain goats survived glaciations in a northern (Beringian) refuge. Remains have been identified from a postglacial archaeological site called Engigstciak near the Arctic coast of the Yukon, but they are too recent to prove that mountain goats occupied the Beringian refuge. Many questions remain to be answered about this species.

As the ice retreated near the end of the last glaciation, mountain goats moved north to reoccupy their 'interglacial range' which extends from Idaho to the Yukon. Although these hardy animals, so far, have survived the rigorous conditions of the ice age in very barren country, there is no reason to think that man cannot start them on the road to extinction. Particular care must be taken to avoid overhunting mountain goats or crucially damaging their habitat. ◆

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* Named for the American anthropologist, Mark R. Harrington.

The McDougalls

Pioneers of the Plains

By Iris Allan

ALBERTA CONFERENCE ARCHIVES, UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

The Reverend George McDougall.
From a photograph in the Alberta Conference Archives, United Church of Canada.

Victoria, August 16, 1870

Surrounded by circumstances that cannot be described I sit down to pen a few lines. . . . Two days after I arrived home John was taken very ill, and is now in a critical state. . . . On Saturday our most beloved local preacher . . . died. . . . The Blackfoot, driven to desperation by the awful scourge which has cut off more than one-half of their tribe, have sought to propitiate their deities by murder and robbery. They have stolen our horses and killed our cattle; articles of clothing and human hair, infected with the small-pox, have been left in our village. . . . Sad news has reached us from the Mountain Stonies. The Blackfoot left clothing in their neighborhood; the thoughtless Stonies took up the blankets, little thinking that one-half of their nation would be the price.

September 25, 1870

The disease first appeared in our own family, and on the 13th of October our youngest daughter, [Florrie] aged eleven died.

October 23, 1870

We are now passing through deep waters, all prostrate with the fearful disease, except Mrs. McDougall and she is exhausted watching.

October 28, 1870

This morning I buried our Anna. My son-in-law, Mr. [Richard] Hardisty dug her grave at the foot of Florrie's.

November 1, 1870

At five o'clock this afternoon our Georgiana breathed her last . . . .

Iris Allan is author of 'Boy in Buckskins', a book about the Reverend John McDougall as a boy.

These extracts are from the journals and letters of the Reverend George Millward McDougall, who brought his family to settle in the present province of Alberta in 1863.

Born in Kingston about 1821, George McDougall could neither read nor write until he was eighteen years of age. His father was from Scotland and was a sailor. Early in George's life the family moved into the wild north country near Penetanguishene Road, not far from Georgian Bay. Here the young lad quickly learned the arts of the woodsman.

A militia document signed with his mark (an x in lieu of a signature) indicated that he had served as a private in Her Majesty's Regiment of Royal Foresters, and on his discharge in May 1838 was 'about seventeen years of age'. He was described as being five feet, six and a half inches tall, and having dark hair, grey eyes and a dark complexion.

Young George decided to take up his own land and to obtain the money he cleared a neighbour's field. A school was nearby and he worked on his land by day, then attended school in the evenings.

This was the period of the great Methodist missions, and at the urging of three brothers named Williams, he adopted this faith at the age of 19. At a prayer meeting he met his future wife, an English girl of the Quaker faith, Elizabeth Chantler. It was ironic that she, who believed in non-violence, was to live the rest of her life on frontiers where violence and drunkenness were commonplace, and where it was necessary to kill game to survive. Throughout her entire lifetime she could never bring herself to fire a gun.

After their marriage in 1842 the young couple moved to Owen Sound, then a community of three buildings. George conducted religious services for the few white residents and the Indians, and along with a partner, built a ship, the *Indian Prince* which was the first vessel sent out from Owen Sound. Later he sailed the *Sydenham* and took a load of exports - maple sugar, potash, and grain - to Toronto. His goal however was to become an ordained minister, and then a missionary to the Indians.

GLENBOW-ALBERTA INSTITUTE

The Reverend John McDougall with his second wife, son Morley and mother, Elizabeth McDougall.

The church frowned on married men entering theology but the need for missions was great and he finally obtained special permission. In spite of the fact that he now had two sons, John and David, George spent a year at Victoria College in Cobourg. After this brief training he was sent to Alderville, in present Ontario where he was assistant to the Reverend William Case who managed the industrial school. He had been accepted as a probationer, mainly through the influence of Elder Case.

For some time there had been need for a mission in the northern parts of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, and George McDougall was chosen for this work. He travelled to his new appointment by steamer and stagecoach. In his diary of 1851 he wrote 'Have met the Indians in council and have agreed to be their missionary.' He set about having a stone church erected and returned home for his family. They established at Garden River in the Algoma District of present-day Ontario, in a shanty rented from the Indians until they could build a mission home. Years later, the eldest son recalled the first terrifying night that the family spent in the community where drunkenness prevailed. But George McDougall was not a man to be intimidated. He visited and preached to the men in the nearby Bruce Mines and on 22 March 1852 he wrote 'The work here is onward. I

Norway House as it appeared in 1858, two years before the arrival of the McDougalls, from a water-colour by W. H. E. Napier.

received seven on trial [converts] yesterday. Missionary meeting resulted in 4 pounds, 2 shillings, and 10 pence; making in all between five and six pounds. The temperance cause is doing wonders. . . . With my blankets, provisions, snowshoes (all assorted) and a faithful old Ojebway [sic] for a companion I started for the Mines.'

From Garden River the family moved to Rama north of Lake Simcoe to live much the same kind of life. The young lads learned to do the home chores when their father was away preaching at Indian camps. They also picked berries, fished, and hunted to augment their father's salary.

David, who in his later years became a western trader, learned a useful trick. When he heard or saw a steamboat on the river he would run and get his father's double-barrelled shotgun. Once the recoil knocked him to the ground, but undaunted he rose and fired off another volley. Delighted by the welcome and by the infinitesimal size of the welcomer, the passengers would throw apples and oranges down from the deck. David would dash for the canoe, paddle out, and gather up the bounty.

In June 1860, the Conference of the Methodist Missions appointed George McDougall to the Rossville mission near Norway House at the north end of Lake Winnipeg. By this time the family numbered seven children, and five made the journey to Norway House. David and Eliza remained in Rama to attend school. The McDougalls travelled by steamboat from Collingwood to Milwaukee and from there to St. Paul, the end of navigation. They journeyed overland to Georgetown on the Red River by coach on the newly organized stage line.

At Georgetown, the H B C manager, Alexander H. Murray gave up his quarters to the family and moved, with young John, into the McDougall tent that had been stitched together from a bolt of cotton purchased along the way at St. Cloud. From Georgetown to Fort Garry the McDougalls travelled on a large barge with their homemade tent set up on deck. The crew who propelled the barge forward with four oars, pulled in to the shore only to gather firewood, for the country at the time was inhabited by warlike Sioux and Ojibway.

At Fort Garry a fleet of York boats was loading for the trip north to Hudson Bay. McDougall made arrangements to travel with the fleet which was due to leave the following morning. That night the family enjoyed the hospitality of Governor William McTavish.

Along the route to Norway House, McDougall constantly recorded comments on the country and the Indians in his letters and diary. The fleet reached Norway House in ten days. McDougall observed that game was scarce, but he was happy about the Indians. 'My mind has often been encouraged when visiting those families, who, in search of food, spend the winter away from the missions. By them the Sabbath is strictly kept, even when employed by the Honorable Company. Nothing will induce them to violate the sacred day. Most of these wandering families possess parts of the word of God; in this way the noble James Evans "Being dead yet

speaketh". The very simple yet practical character of his syllabic letters can scarcely be realized.'

A letter written by McDougall to his superiors from Grand Rapids on the Saskatchewan and dated 23 July 1861 foreshadowed the family's move to western Canada: 'Dear Sir: Can we not do something for the thousands of Indians in the Edmonton district. . . . From five hundred of the Stoney Indians the cry comes "Send us a missionary". [The Stonies had known and loved the first Protestant missionary to visit them, the Reverend Robert Rundle.] Chief Factor [W. G.] Christie of Edmonton is spending two weeks at Norway House and having heard that your missionary intended visiting our millions [of Indians] in the Saskatchewan, kindly offers to place means at our disposal next spring for that long journey. This generous offer, the Lord willing, we shall accept.'

Accept the offer McDougall did. He arranged for his son John to travel by boat brigade to Fort Carlton, while he, at the invitation of Company officers, accompanied them to Fort Garry, then travelled west on horseback to Fort Carlton with Richard Hardisty of the H B C as his guide. This second-generation fur trader, who was later to become McDougall's son-in-law arranged for a guide to conduct father and son across the plains and supplied them with horses. Along the trail, the McDougalls met Peter Erasmus who was to work with them for many years. He was a well known linguist and interpreter who had Danish, Indian and English blood in his veins. He lived to the age of 98 and died in Edmonton in 1931.

At the time of McDougall's journey, the Edmonton District had two Protestant missionaries – Thomas Woolsey at Smoky Lake and Henry Steinhauer at Whitefish Lake. The two men had arrived together in 1855.

The McDougalls visited both missions and saw much of the countryside. One location, on the bank of the north Saskatchewan appealed so strongly to McDougall that he suggested to Mr Woolsey that he move to this spot. Together they planned to found a mission which they would call Victoria (now Pakan). He left nineteen-year-old John with Mr Woolsey and promised that he would be back the following year with his family. McDougall wrote to his superiors from 'Blackfoot Country, September 2, 1862', and on his return to Norway House he wrote again, asking to be transferred to the Edmonton District. Permission was granted and the following summer the McDougalls arrived by York boat at Victoria. The season was far advanced and as the mission house was not ready, the family lived in a one-room log cabin the first winter.

The McDougalls, George and John, now began their life's work, for the eldest son was to follow in his

An Indian encampment, about 1873, and in the background the house built by Richard Hardisty outside Fort Edmonton.

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES OF ALBERTA. E. BROWN COLLECTION.

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES OF ALBERTA, E. BROWN.

The church built by the Reverend George McDougall in 1871 outside the gates of Fort Edmonton, and below, Peter Erasmus at the age of 93, left, with the Reverend W. H. Day.

father's footsteps. Once the family was housed, they went out with Peter Erasmus as guide and interpreter on a 21-day trip on horseback to visit the Stonies. Not a building was standing in the area to the south once they left palisaded Fort Edmonton behind. Beyond Red Deer they met the Stonies who greeted them warmly. 'But there was no sleep for the weary; the Stonies were so overjoyed at our arrival that prayer and praise were continued until morning' Mr McDougall wrote.

In their early years at the mission, the McDougalls hunted buffalo which they used for fresh meat and put by for the winter months in the form of pemmican. Elizabeth set the children to pick berries in large amounts. These were to be dried and used through the winter. Fish was the only variation in their monotonous diet. George McDougall wrote, underlining his words: 'My wife says it is better not to think of bread while we cannot have it . . . but judging from my feelings this morning *the sight of a four pound loaf* would produce in my heart the liveliest gratitude.'

At times even meat was hard to come by when the game was far out and elusive. The Hudson's Bay Company could not continue to supply other than their staff, and in 1864 John made the trip to Fort Garry on horseback to bring back supplies. He and his companion stopped at a Church of England mission on the White Mud River, where the kindly wife of the missionary, the Reverend Henry George, gave them a meal of bread and

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The Morleyville Mission from a sketch made in 1875 by Dr Neavett of the NWMP.

butter. John ate ravenously of 'the first bread and butter I had in two years.'

In April 1865 John married Abigail Steinhauer, the wedding being conducted by his father and held at Abigail's home mission at Whitefish Lake. In the summer of the same year, George McDougall travelled east to meet his son David and daughter Eliza at Fort Garry. They had completed their education and were on their way to join the family at Victoria. In the autumn of 1866, Richard Hardisty, now thirty-three, married the sixteen-year-old Eliza at the Victoria mission.

Following the terrible days of the smallpox epidemic in 1870 that took the lives of two of their daughters, George and Elizabeth McDougall moved to Edmonton where they built a church, the first building to be erected outside the gates of the fort. They moved once again in 1873. This time, they settled in the south of the province where the Morleyville mission (now Morley) was begun among the Stonies. George had two happy and fruitful years there before he lost his life.

As he and John, with some Indian companions were out hunting for the mission, George stated he would go back to camp and prepare the evening meal. Pointing to a star he told John that it would be his guide. When John arrived he thought little of the fact that his father was not there, as he assumed he had met an Indian camp and was speaking with them. This was far from unusual, even to spending the night with an encampment. Two days later a blizzard came up and when it cleared a search was organized with no result. On returning to Morleyville where they expected to find George, again it was believed he had travelled on, this time perhaps to Calgary. On Sunday the search was resumed only to find that an Indian had found George's frozen body on the prairie. Characteristically his arms were folded across his chest and his face held an expression of peace.

After the death of her husband in 1875, Elizabeth McDougall took her youngest son to Ontario for his brief schooling. Mother and son then returned to homestead in the Morley district. But tragedy still marked her life. While young George was in Montana to bring cattle back to the homestead, he contracted pneumonia and died at the age of sixteen.

By the 1880s the settlement of the west was well underway. Elizabeth knew from personal experience the harsh life that faced the pioneer women. She went about visiting, and often nursing, new arrivals, trying to lighten their burdens when she could.

In March 1904, at the age of eighty-four, this gentle woman died. The church that her husband had built was thronged for the funeral. As her coffin was being lifted by white settlers, six Indian chiefs came forward, and carried it reverently into the church. A hill, a church and a school in Edmonton today bear the name of McDougall to commemorate this great pioneer family of the plains.◆

ARTISTS OF THE KLONDIKE

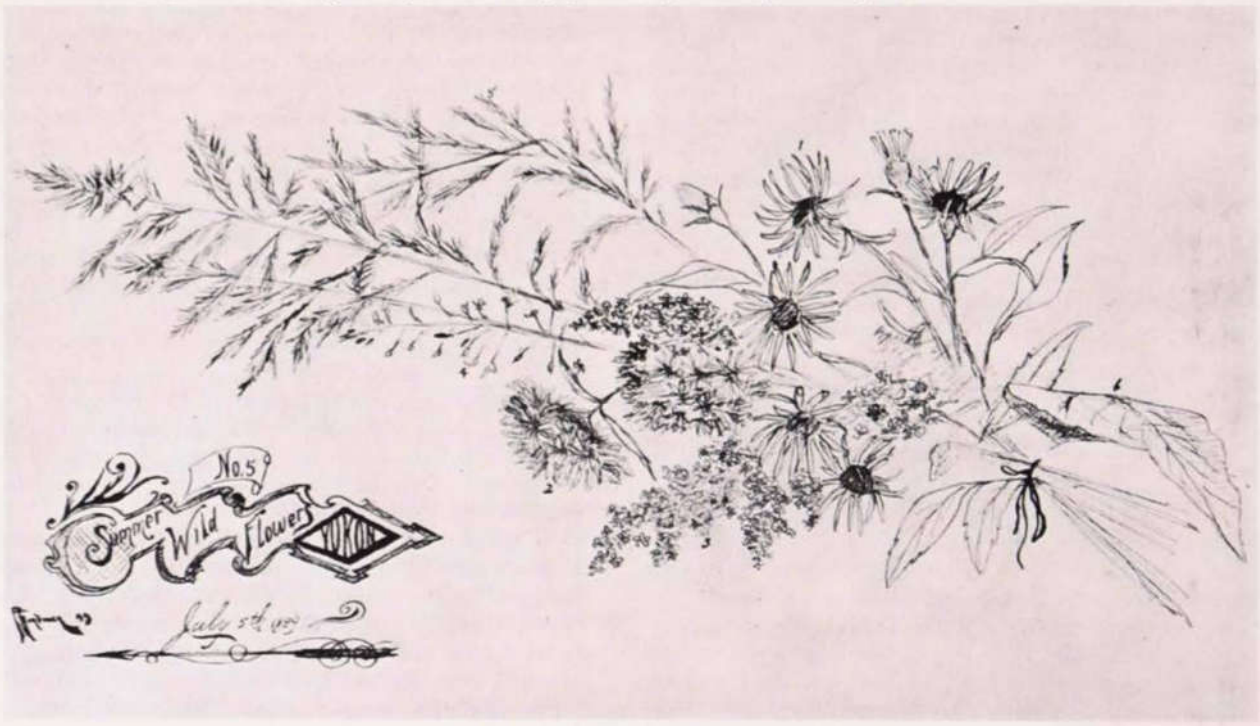
By JENNIFER BUNTING

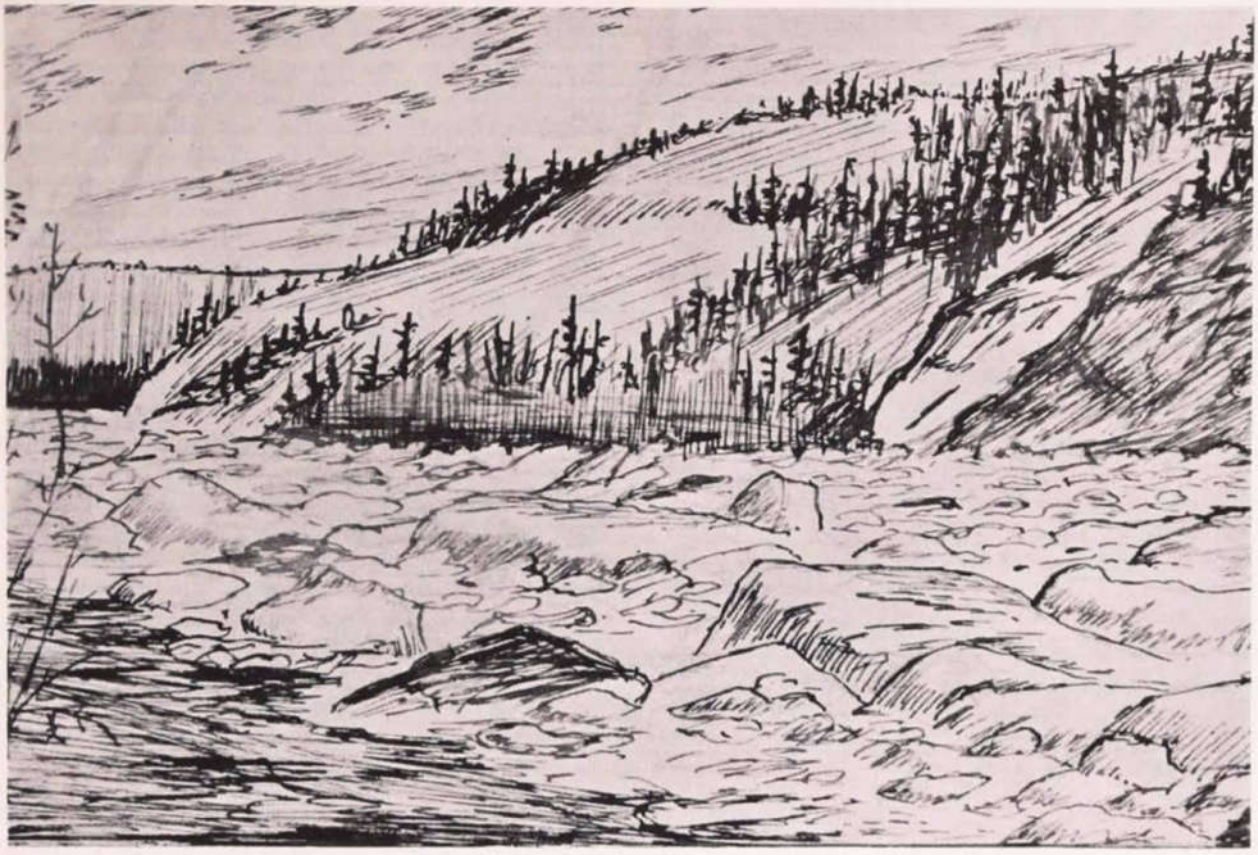
A graduate in Fine Art, University of Toronto, Mrs Bunting is an historical researcher with Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

FOR MANY OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE who travelled on the Trail of '98, the Klondike gold rush was the high point of their lives – the great adventure which changed them, and whose effects and memories remained with them. It was a powerful experience. Its significance must have occurred to many of the gold-seekers, for they left first-hand accounts of the trail and of Dawson in the form of diaries, photographs, books, and letters.

One would certainly expect that such an exciting event would appeal to the amateur artist. The gold rush came, after all, at the end of a century rich in small water-colours and drawings. The Victorians had delighted in painting and sketching in order to document their comings and goings. However, few artistic pictorial records of the Trail of '98 seem to have been made. There were the usual professional artists and illustrators, like Edwin T. Adney, who painted the Klondike for *Harper's Weekly* and *The London Chronicle,* but amateur artists were strangely lacking. Perhaps the rigours of the trail discouraged talented individuals who must have been present in the great throng of humanity. Perhaps, too, the photograph was already usurping the sketch as the quickest record and memento. In any case, art from the Klondike of the gold rush days seems to be rare.

Although Mr Gardiner keyed the flowers in the spray to a diary note, only one entry was made: 1. Small blue aster.





'Yukon Breaking up May 16th 99' and 'Caches', ink drawings over pencil by Frederick Gardiner.

FREDERICK GARDINER

In the Public Archives of Canada there is a sketch-book which records the experiences of an ordinary Canadian who left home on the flood of gold-fever, and made the long journey to Dawson. The book is a rather worn little volume which belonged to Frederick Gardiner of Toronto, and judging by its appearance, accompanied him to the Klondike. Although the quality of the drawings is quite good, the style of the sketch-book has a certain naiveté which suggests that the artist was self-taught. Certainly he seems to have been much influenced by the current styles of advertising and labelling popular in the 1890s, and the book is full of decorative titles, cartouches, and carefully drawn picture frames which resemble the mounts in old-time photo-graph albums.

Frederick Gardiner, as far as can be determined, was the son of a baker of the same name who lived in Toronto at 768 Queen Street East, east of the Don River, in the area then known as Riverside. It was a respectable district, regarded in those days more as a suburb than as part of the city of Toronto proper, with middle class homes and shops, and its own small weekly newspaper, the *Riverside Leader* (all copies of which seem, unfortunately, to have disappeared).

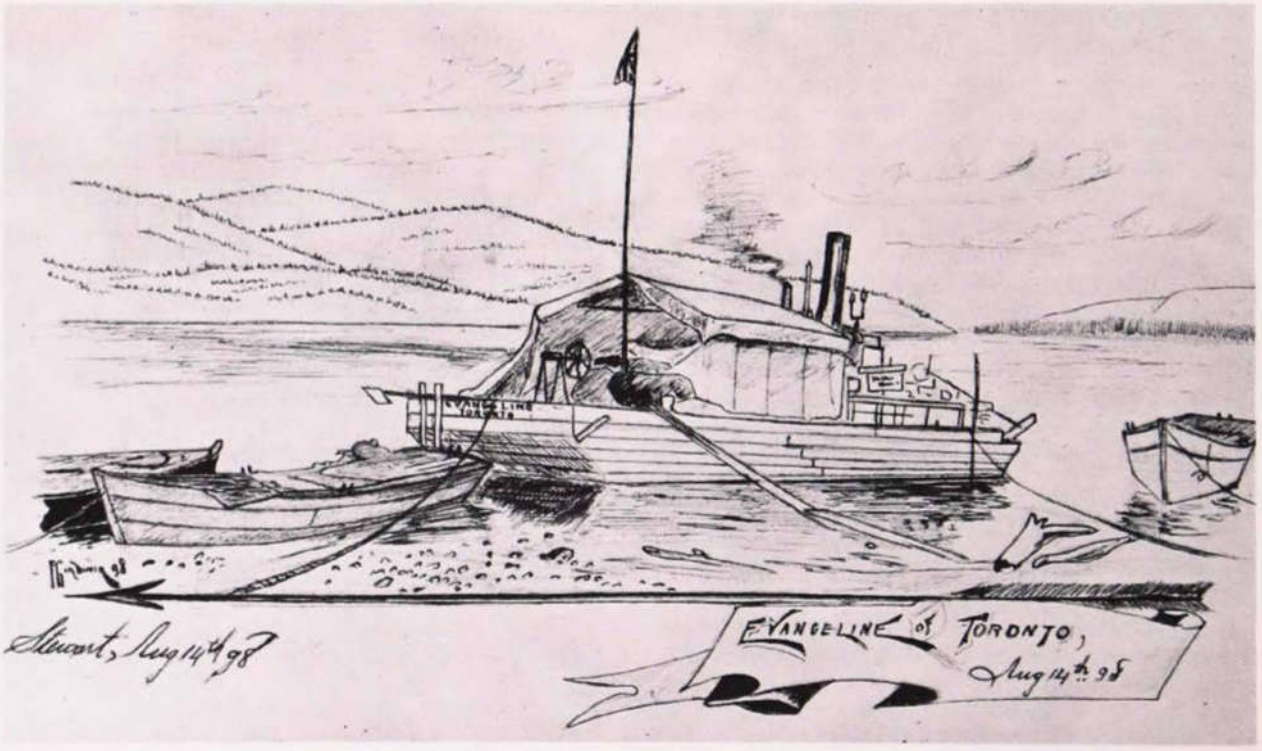
Sometime during the spring of 1898, Frederick Gardiner and his father set out for the Klondike. What happened to the bakery on Queen Street during their absence is hard to tell, but it must have been 'business as usual', for Might's Directory continues to list 'Frederick Gardiner, baker' at the same address in 1898, 1899 and 1900. Perhaps the shop was looked after by Mrs Gardiner, or by the Miss Jennie A. Gardiner (a sister of the artist?) who is listed in the Directory for 1900 as living at the same address and working as an embosser for a Toronto firm, Hart & Riddell. Like most victims of the gold rush fever, the Gardiners did not let business keep them at home – they went north anyway.

The sketchbook provides no clues as to the early part of the journey, but it is likely that father and son took the train across Canada to Vancouver, and then the steamer north along the British Columbia coast to Skagway, Alaska. The sketchbook does include a drawing of Skagway which is among other drawings dated 'May, 1898'. A sketch of the Chilkoot Railway Company's Engine House, Sheep Camp, Alaska (mysteriously signed 'RB') and a copy of a newspaper picture of the Chilkoot Pass provide evidence that the Gardiners may have followed the popular Chilkoot Trail over the Chilkoot Pass, rather than over the White Pass. This route entailed travelling from Skagway to Dyea and over the Chilkoot Pass to Lake Lindeman, the head of the Lewes River system. From Lake Lindeman, the rest of the journey to Dawson could be accomplished via the Lewes and Yukon River by boat. There are few drawings of the journey over the Chilkoot Pass – not surprising, since the trip was notoriously difficult. The travellers were forced to carry part of their kit several hundred yards up towards the pass, deposit the goods beside the trail with a pole for a marker, and return down the track for another load. Horses did not survive long on the rocky trail with little food and constant hard work. It was probable at this stage of the journey that the artist had neither time nor energy to spare for sketching.

The portion of the journey commencing at Lake Lindeman is better documented with a series of sketches, beginning with one of Lake Lindeman itself, dated 'June 6th, 1898'. Subjects included in the drawings are: Hotel Victoria in Bennett, The Canyon, Lake La-Barge, Lake Tagish, the Yukon & White Rivers, Salmon River, Stewart River, and finally, Dawson. Sketches of boat-building at Lake Lindeman suggest that this was where the Gardiners, like thousands of others, built the boat that would take them the rest of the way. A small wooden scow, called the *Evangeline of Toronto* is drawn in detail several times, and may have been the Gardiner boat.

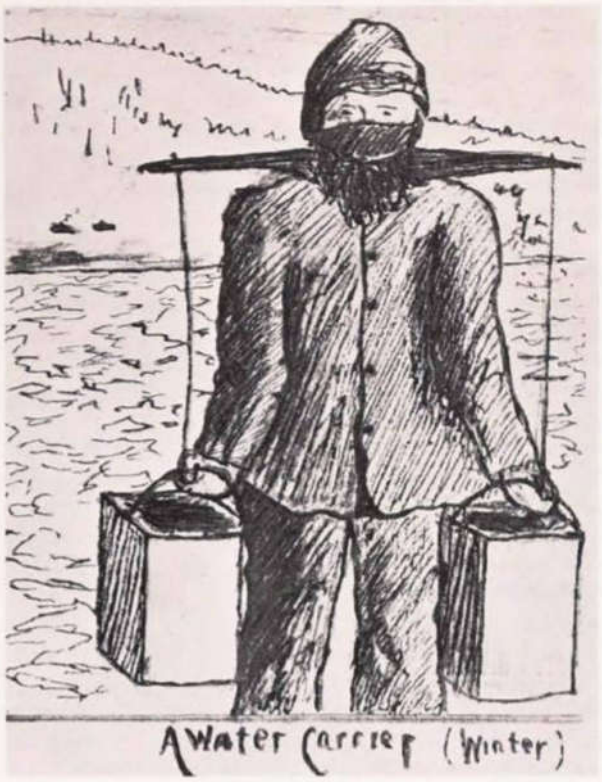
The North West Mounted Police outpost at Tagish recorded that 'Frederick Gardiner, Toronto, and

The 'Evangeline of Toronto' was probably the Gardiner boat built at Lake Lindeman.

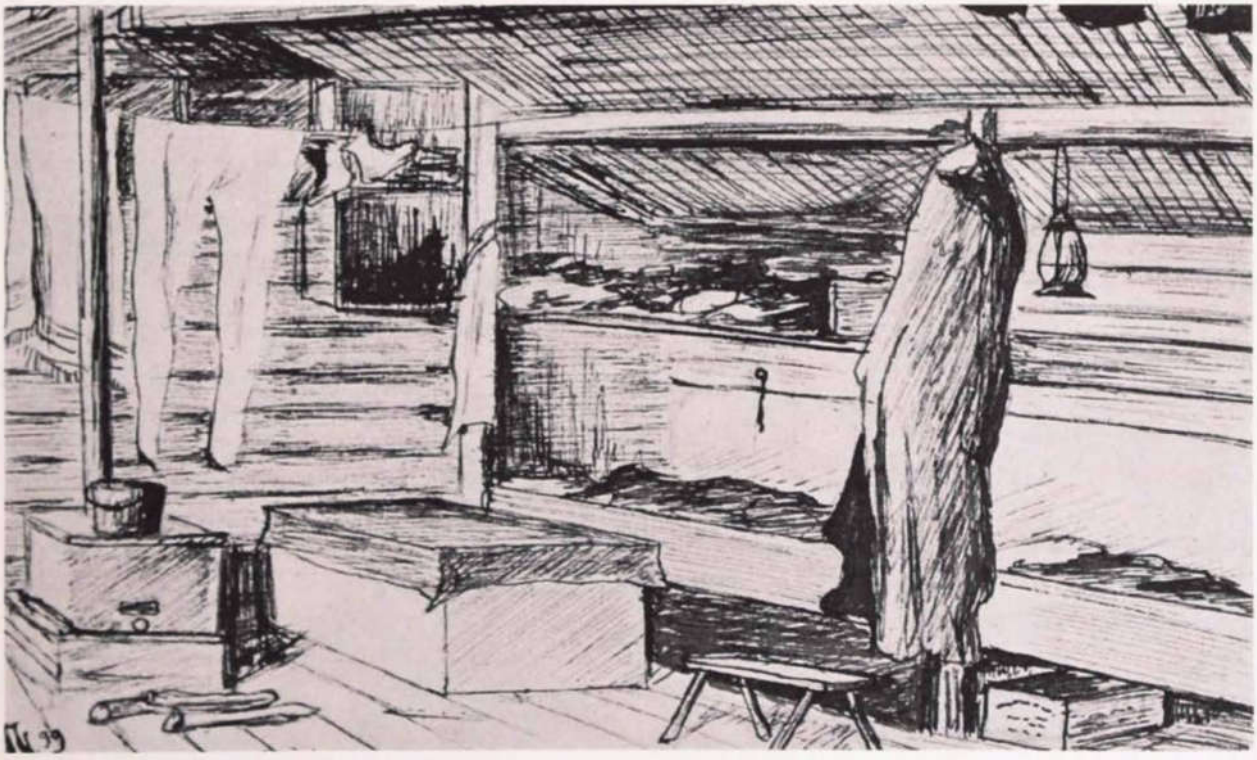


Frederick Gardiner Jr, of Toronto' passed the Tagish registration point on their way down river on 24 June 1898. The number assigned to their boat was 13,935 – over 13,000 other craft had entered the Yukon ahead of them. The appearance of these vessels varied almost as much as their occupants. They included scows, row-boats, sailboats, collapsible canoes, paddle boats and rafts, as well as more exotic hybrids. Unless the boat had been carted over the Chilkoot Pass, it was built at the lake from local timber, cut and planed by hand.

The Gardiners reached Dawson by August 1898. The streets were full of people wandering up and down, soaking up the excitement of the gold rush town. Many indeed were content merely to take a look at Dawson and leave quickly before the impending winter could hinder the long journey home. However the Gardiners stayed over the winter until July 1899. Whether they worked for someone else, staked a claim, or lived off their 'grubstake' all winter is unrecorded. The sketchbook contains a drawing of the interior of their cabin, of a water-carrier in winter, and of the Yukon River breaking up (dated 16 May 1899), but only one drawing of a mine – a deserted one. The centre of the gold mining activity was some distance from Dawson itself, and it is quite possible that, like many other would-be miners, the Gardiners never visited the actual site of the gold strike.



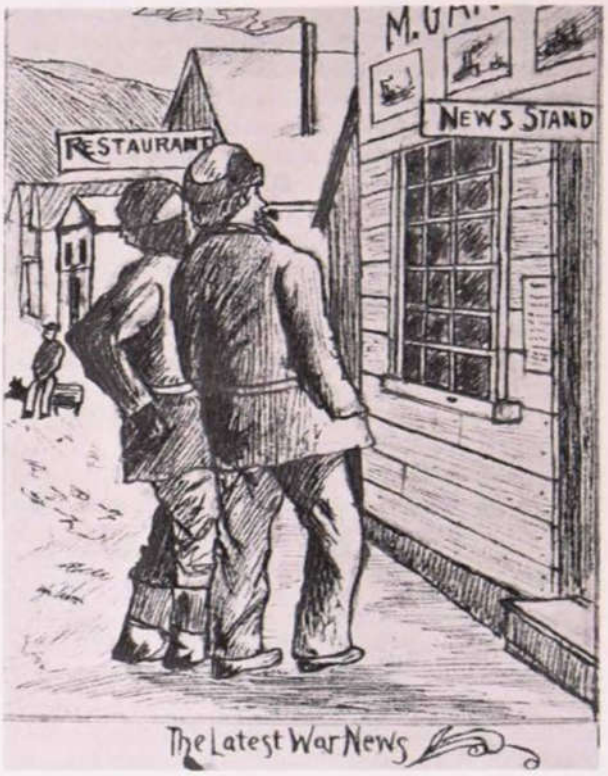
The interior of the Gardiner cabin at Dawson.



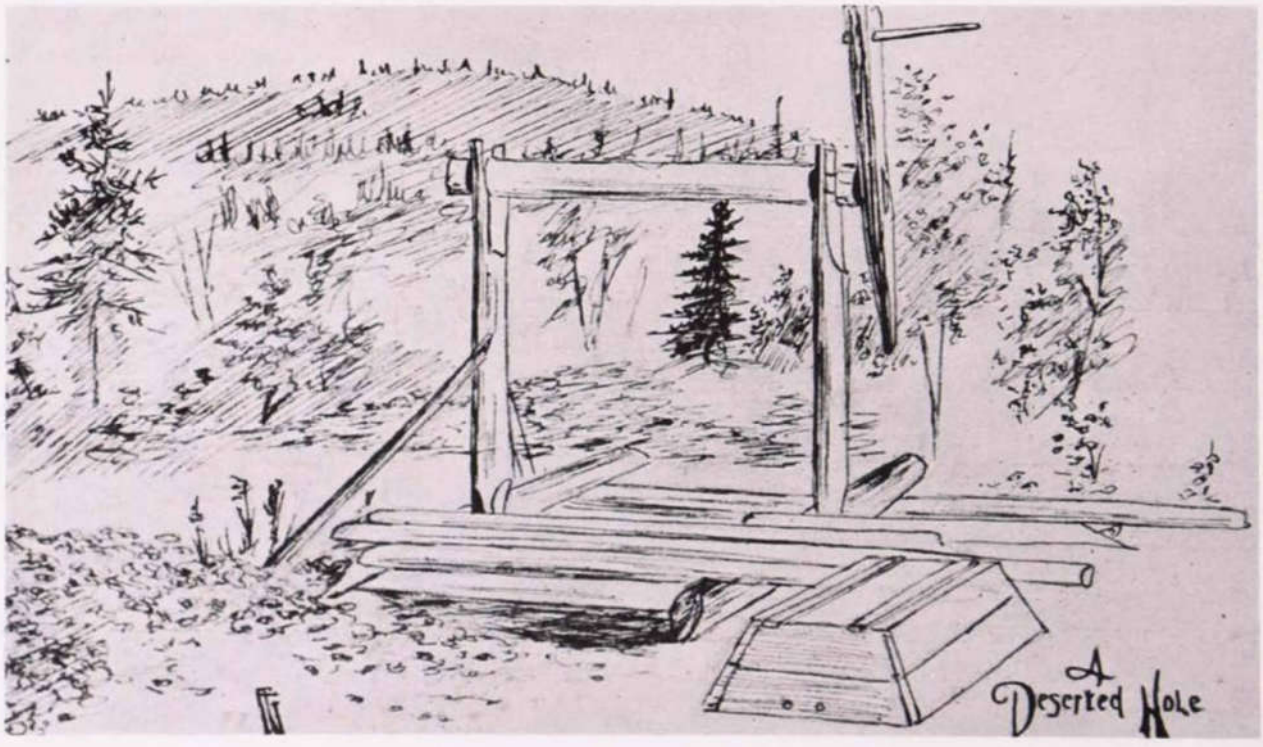
The Gardiners left Dawson some time before the end of July 1899. No certain record of their departure has been found, but the passenger list of the S.S. *Bailey*, outward bound on 27 July 1899, includes a 'Mr Gardiner', and that of the S.S. *Australia* for the following day lists a 'F. J. Gardiner'. Passage was difficult to obtain at this time, and it is conceivable that the pair may have separated.

The Gardiner sketchbook contains several drawings which are obviously copied from newspapers such as the *Klondike Miner* (one sketch of a steamer is actually labelled 'see *Miner*'). Other sketches such as 'The Latest War News' have a first-hand quality which remains, despite the fact that they were done first in pencil and later – perhaps much later – traced in ink. The war mentioned was the Spanish American War; the news-stand that the men are looking at in the sketch has not yet been identified. Gardiner's selection of subject matter seems to be somewhat unusual. The solitary caches for food and kits (which appear to have been seldom plundered, despite the hardships of the trail) were carefully recorded.

There are also several pages of delicate Yukon flowers – the abundance of which impressed many sourdoughs. Although not drawn in painstaking detail, the flowers are almost all quickly identifiable, revealing an ability on the part of the artist to select the important features.



Only one drawing of a mine – an abandoned one – appears in the sketch book.



'Our camp on the Mosquito River on the trail from Telegraph Creek to Lake Teslin. Sunday Apr. 24/98'. A water-colour by Alfred E. Boultbee of Toronto.

The Gardiners returned to the bakery at 768 Queen Street, Toronto, where they continued to live until 1904, according to Might's Directories. Frederick Gardiner Jr apparently became an employee of the Toronto Lithograph Company, that was advertising for new staff throughout this period. He was listed in the City Directory as a lithographer in their employ in 1902, and as an artist in their employ in 1903.

It is possible that Frederick Gardiner's Klondike sketches have been previously published. Nearly all of them, like the 'Bonanza King' are squared for reproduction or enlargement, and the sketchbook contains many detailed colour notes in pen and ink. The artist's style, which resembles so much the commercial style of the period, certainly suggests that he aspired towards doing professional illustrations. However, no record of publication of the sketches has been found.

After 1905, the Gardiner family moved from 768 Queen Street and disappeared. No further work by Gardiner has come to light during recent investigation, and the artist might have remained unknown, had not the little sketchbook been sold to the Public Archives of Canada in 1962. The quality of the work, however, implies that other work must have once existed, and perhaps in time more drawings by Frederick Gardiner will be found.

ALFRED E. BOULTBEE

Before he became one of the thousands of young men hurrying north to the Klondike, Alfred E. Boultbee Jr was an architect. In contrast to Frederick Gardiner, who was the son of a confectioner, Mr Boultbee had the advantages of a family that moved in upper Toronto society. His father, Alfred Boultbee Sr, was a barrister, a partner in the firm of Boultbee & Evatt from 1875 until 1883, and had also managed election to the Ontario Legislature.

Although Alfred Jr was educated as an architect, he probably received artistic training beyond that of draughting and design. The technique used in his water-colours is bold and confident, and his love of rich colour contrasts suggests an awareness of European trends. However his early training was as an architect, not as a painter. In 1884, he was apprenticed as a student of W. G. Storm, Architect, Toronto, and he continued as a draughtsman with this firm until 1887, when he became an independent architect. In 1888 he worked briefly with the office of S. H. Townsend, also in Toronto.

It seems likely that the career as an architect was merely the most acceptable and secure profession into which the talents of young Alfred could be squeezed. His restlessness is evident. From 1889 until 1892, he practised architecture off and on independently. He

cannot have been extremely successful, for in 1893 he ceased to advertise himself as an architect, and began instead to advertise himself as an artist. In 1898, caught in the wave of gold-fever, he packed his water-colours and sketchbook and started north towards the Yukon.

Boultbee followed more or less the same route in to Dawson as Frederick Gardiner, but unlike Gardiner, Boultbee had little interest in actually documenting his trip to the Klondike. Instead he concentrated his efforts on capturing the broad features and surprising colours of the northern landscape. In the twenty pages from his Yukon sketchbook, recently acquired by the Public Archives of Canada, the prospectors are represented only by a few tents in a vast wilderness. He captured and expressed what the sourdoughs felt – awe at the grandeur of the northern scenery, which was not 'barren' but full of colour and life. Boultbee also preserved for us the size and ruggedness of the wilderness which the prospectors crossed in their struggle to reach the gold fields. The muddy trails, the steep mountains, and the miles of muskeg are all recorded.

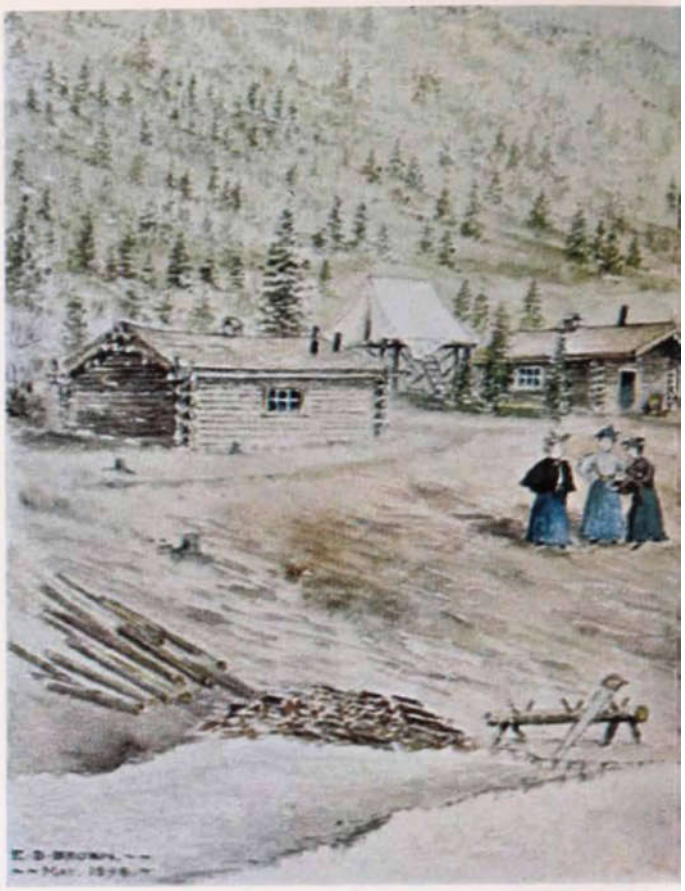
Like most sourdoughs, Boultbee stayed in the Yukon only a year, leaving in the summer of 1899. He probably returned to Toronto. The Public Archives collections contain a water-colour of Fort York painted by him in 1890. Back in Ontario, Boultbee continued to try to forward his artistic career. He exhibited with the Ontario Society of Artists from 1889-96, and with the Royal Canadian Academy from 1891-97. He is known to have executed water-colours and oils of scenery in the province of Quebec and also in Europe. However, in 1903, he began once more to advertise himself as an architect. The Toronto directories continued to list him until 1929.

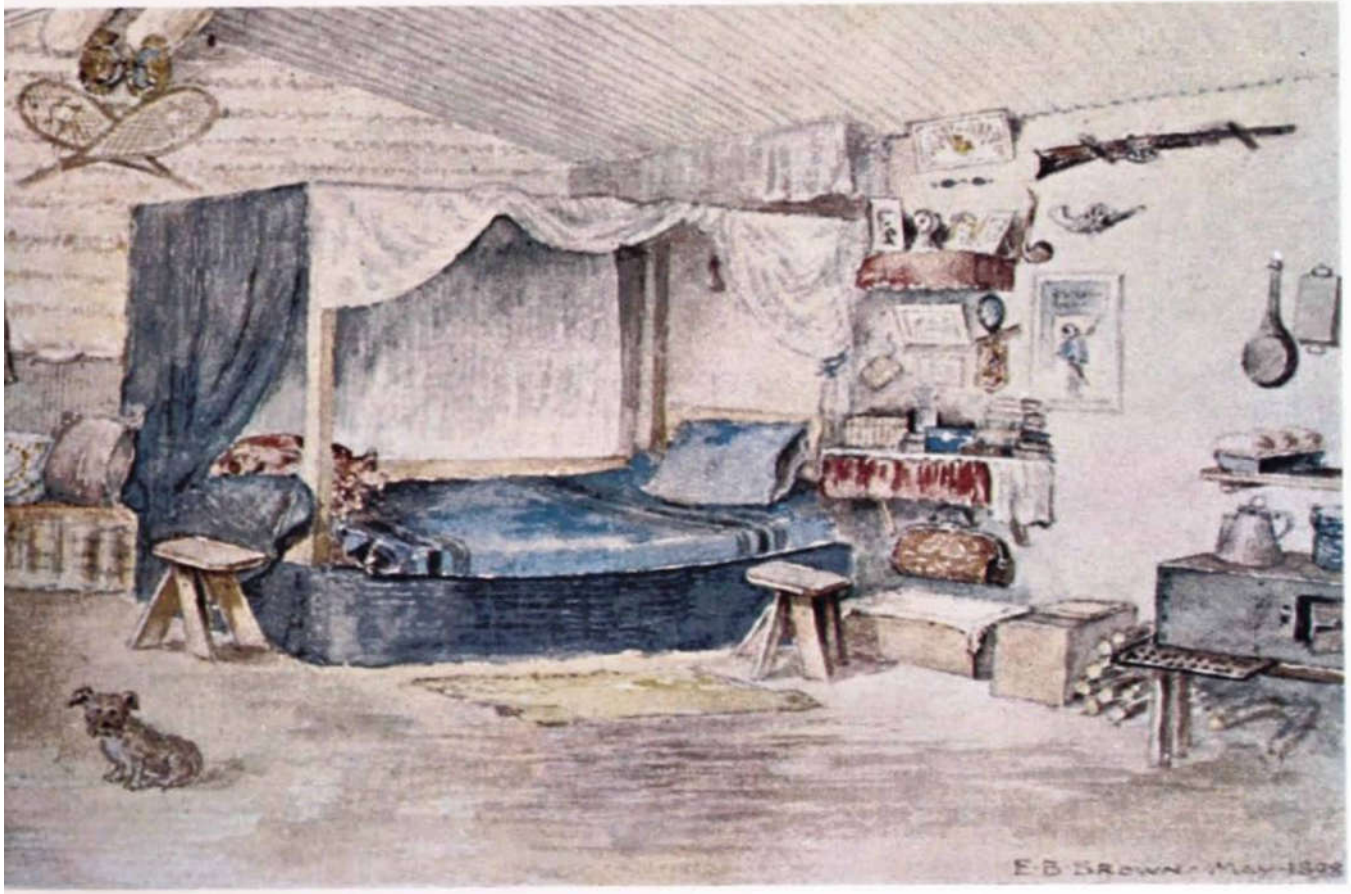
It is unfortunate, considering the rich, strong quality of the Boultbee Klondike water-colours, that most of his work has been dispersed or has disappeared. However, the twenty pages of his Klondike sketchbook, will remain together as a unit, and as such they present a fresh, bold record of the Trail of '98 through the eyes of one gold-seeker going north.

E. B. BROWN

Two water-colours, done in the Yukon in 1898 by E. B. Brown were recently presented to the University of Washington Libraries in Seattle by Miss M. Ruth MacDonald of Seattle. Little is known about the artist. The water-colours were bequeathed to Miss MacDonald by her father, Duncan MacDonald, one of four brothers who came originally from Nova Scotia.

The water-colours show a mining operation and the interior of the MacDonald cabin, May 1898. The people seated around the table are: Rory MacDonald, Alexander 'Klondike King' MacDonald, Duncan MacDonald, John MacDonald and Mrs Rory MacDonald, the former Julia McCarthy. ◆



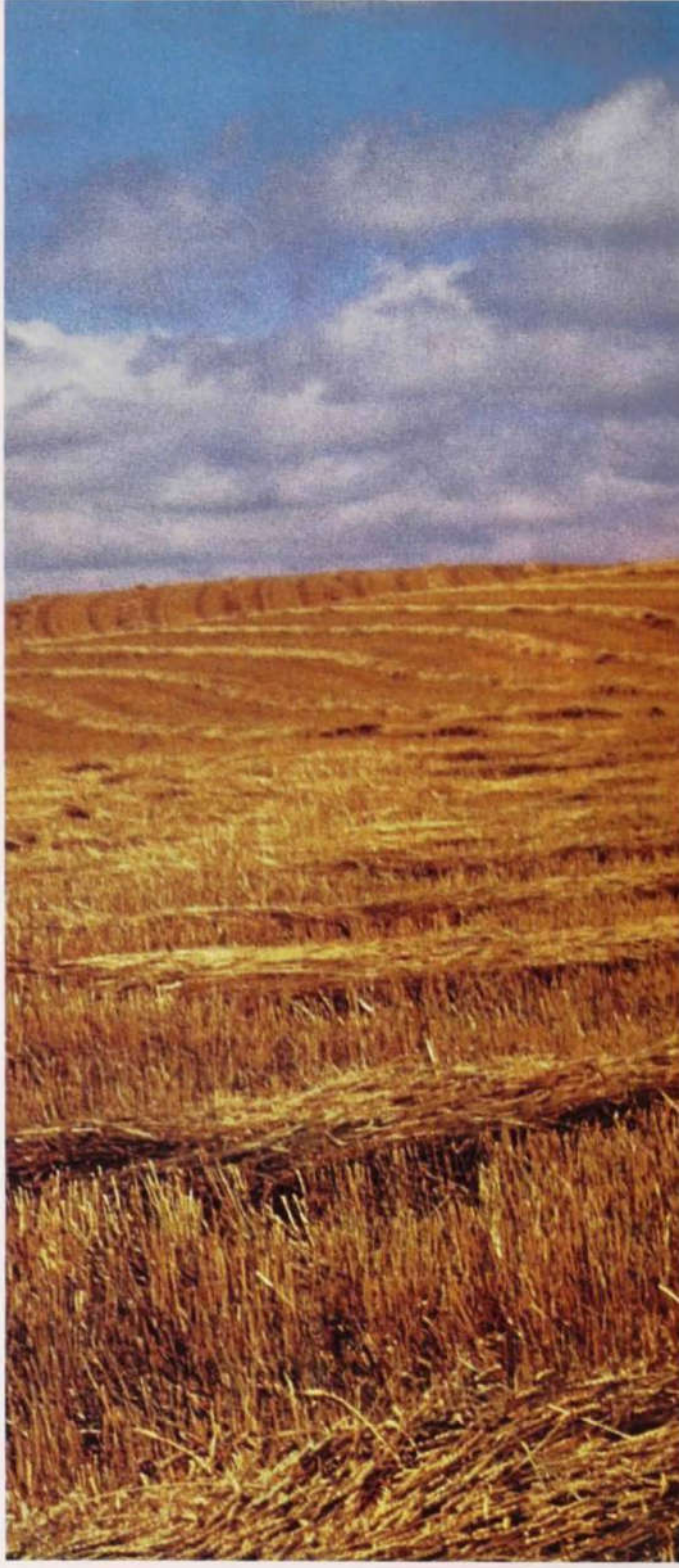

E.B. BROWN - MAY 1898

PRAIRIE SUMMER

Photographs by

LEN and JOYCE HOLMES

The photographers, a husband and wife team from Winnipeg, have for some years been recording scenes of rural Manitoba for their personal enjoyment. Here is a sampling of their work, capturing some aspects of farm life, in the stooking and threshing of grain – that are fast disappearing from the prairies.



Near Minnedosa, Manitoba.

Wheat

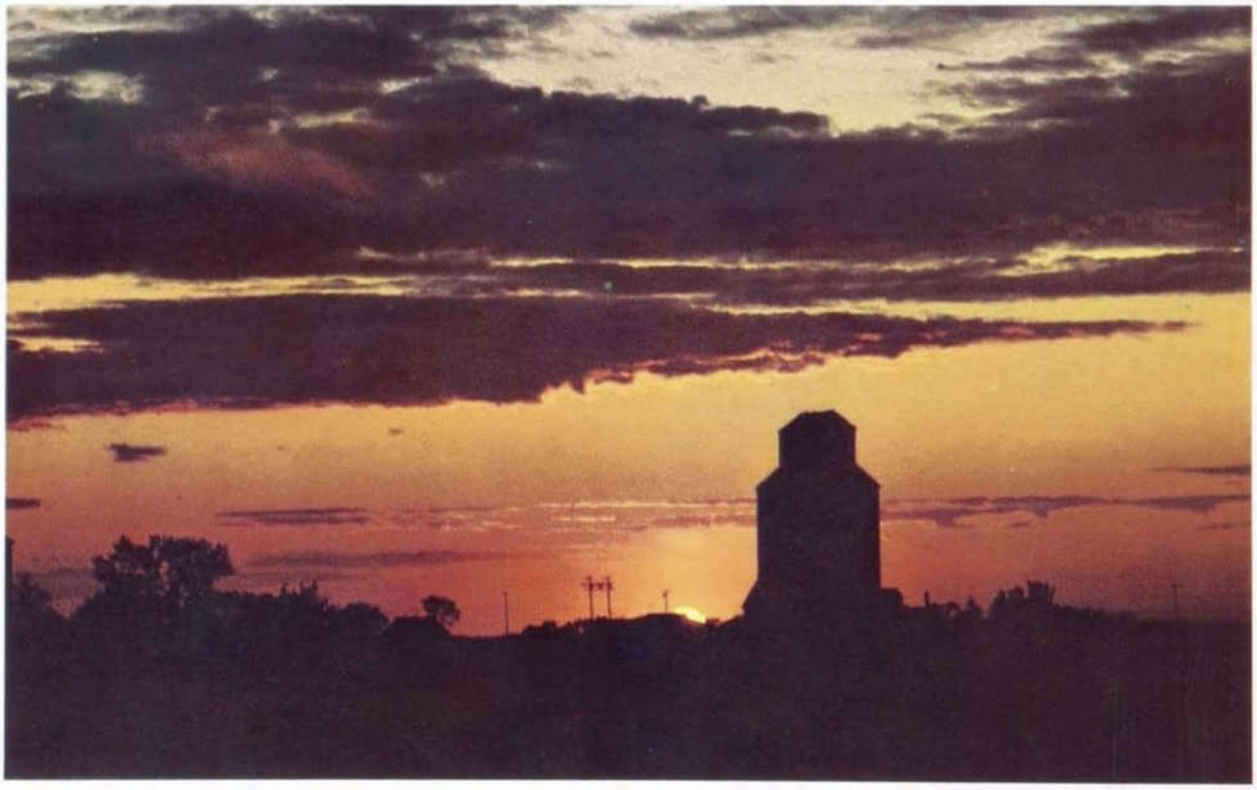
Oats.

Harebells in rain.

Sow thistle.

Prairie clover.

Goat's beard.



The Petroglyphs of Hudson Strait

Photos and text by
FRED BRUEMMER

IN THE EARLY SUMMER OF 1961, the French anthropologist Bernard Saladin d'Anglure visited the small village of Wakeham Bay on the south shore of Hudson Strait. This is a region rich in game, inhabited by Eskimos since time immemorial. A federal meteorological observer, F. F. Payne, who lived in the area from August 1885 to September 1886 wrote: 'The graves of the Eskimos are found everywhere along the coast, some well built over with stones while others only show where the body was laid, the bones being scattered in every direction. The favorite place of burial is an island where the foxes and wolves cannot get at the bodies, and near Cape Prince of Wales an island, about ten acres in area, was seen literally covered with graves; and monuments ten feet high were erected here and there throughout it.' But so numerous are islands and islets in this region, that this particular Eskimo necropolis has not been rediscovered to this day.

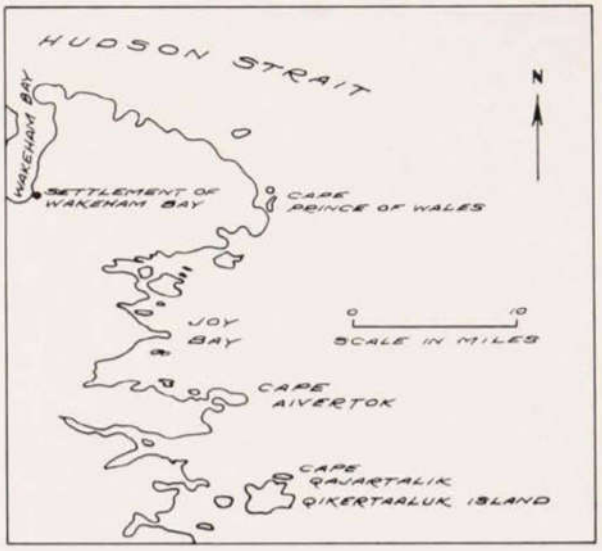
Thus it was not surprising to Saladin d'Anglure that Wakeham Bay's Eskimos volunteered information about a wealth of archaeological sites. What did surprise him, was the information that there were 'devils' heads' cut into the rock of an ancient steatite quarry on Qikertaaluk Island, a day's journey from Wakeham Bay, where Eskimos in the past obtained soapstone for lamps, and which they still visited occasionally to procure soapstone for carvings.

Guided by Eskimos, Saladin d'Anglure went to Qikertaaluk Island by dog-team and boat and near Cape Qajartalik, on the island's north shore, 60 to 80 feet above high-water mark, he saw the petroglyphs: shallow incisions in the rock, representing faces or masks. The largest were eight inches wide by twelve inches long but most of them were considerably smaller. The petroglyphs were of two types: 'in one the features of the face were engraved giving a certain relief, in the other the faces were merely scratched on the rock.' The more elaborate faces were cut into the rock to a depth of slightly more than a quarter of an inch.

The Eskimos' first comment was that 'these are the heads of devils'. Questioned further by Saladin d'Anglure, some thought the glyphs might have been carved into the rock, long ago, by angakoks (shamans). The Eskimos attached little importance to the site. Several petroglyphs were disfigured by axe blows. Others had been damaged during soapstone quarrying, and the same operation may have destroyed many of the petroglyphs completely. During a day's search, Saladin d'Anglure found 44 of these mask-like 'devils' faces'.

Petroglyphs are fairly common. They have been found throughout North America; one particularly impressive site is near Peterborough, Ontario. Others have been discovered in northern Eurasia, from eastern Siberia all the way to northern Norway. Some, like the ones in Norway, are believed to be of great antiquity (perhaps 2,000 or more years old); others, in the southern United States, are of such recent date that they depict, among other things, locomotives. But no petroglyphs had ever been found in the vast region inhabited by Eskimos, from the eastern tip of Siberia to East Greenland. The rock incisions on lonely, isolated Qikertaaluk Island are unique.

Who made these petroglyphs? And when? And why? Many of the Qikertaaluk 'faces' are overgrown with lichen. Examining colour photographs of the lichen-encrusted petroglyphs, an expert on these slow-growing plants, Dr Roland Beschel, estimated the petroglyphs to be at least 500 years old, adding that they could be



considerably older. Dr W. E. Taylor, Jr, director of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, is of the opinion that the petroglyphs are 'definitely of Dorset culture and these faces, none in profile, remind us of the clusters of faces cut into antler and ivory fragments by Dorset carvers.'

People of the Dorset culture held sway over most of the Arctic, from Greenland nearly to the Mackenzie Delta, for roughly 2,000 years, from about 800 B.C. until 1300 A.D. They figure prominently in the myths and folk memory of contemporary Eskimos. 'Tunit' they are called, a race of giants, preternaturally powerful. 'They could haul a walrus across the ice as easily as we pull a seal' Igloolik Eskimos say. But their art is diminutive and delicate, tiny men and masks, bears and birds, some less than an inch in size, carved of bone, stone, ivory, or driftwood, and yet despite their miniature size imbued with a feeling of power and force. Masks are a recurring theme in Dorset art – maskettes they are often called because of their small size. Individual masks are usually only an inch or two in size; faces carved in tight groups into bone or ivory measure merely fractions of an inch.

One of the most important Dorset sites is at Button Point on Bylot Island. Therkel Mathiassen, a member of Rasmussen's famous Fifth Thule Expedition, examined it in the 1920s and more recently the site has been painstakingly excavated by Father Guy Mary-Rousselière, O.M.I. and his Eskimo assistants. In 1970, they discovered two large masks made of driftwood and stained with ochre, the one tragic and resigned in expression, the other of nearly demonic power and fierceness. Both masks are 7⅜ inches high, one is 5⅜ inches wide, and the other 5¼ inches wide; both bear a striking resemblance to the 'faces' on Qikertaaluk Island.

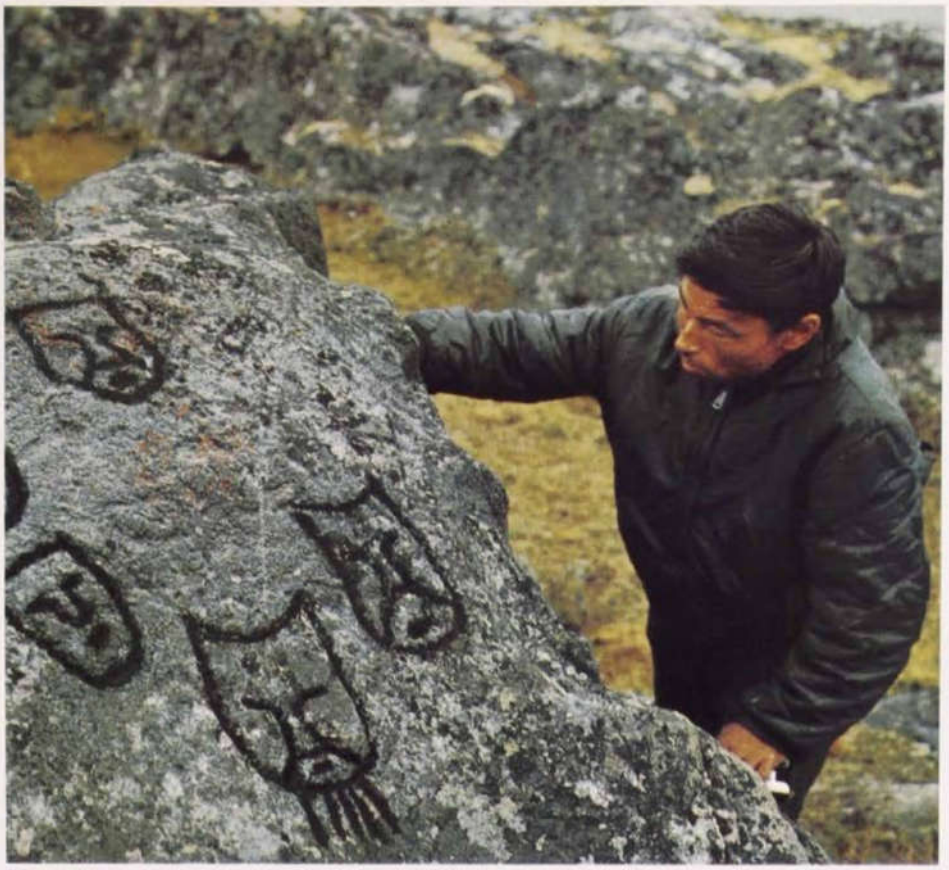
Dr Taylor believes the petroglyphs 'depict either masks or faces and that they are related somehow to the tiny masks that occur in Dorset sites, albeit rarely, and to the full-sized wooden masks that have now been found at the Button Point site.' The petroglyphs, the tiny maskettes, the face clusters, and the Button Point masks, Dr Taylor thinks 'have religious and shamanistic significance.' Since he assumes the masks served religio-magic or cultic purposes, and feels that 'all Dorset art is a religious art relating to shamanism and probably to burial ritual' he thinks it likely that the Qikertaaluk petroglyphs were at a site of 'special supernatural consequence for Dorset culture residents of that area.'

I came to Wakeham Bay in the middle of September, a season of notoriously sudden and violent autumn storms, and no one seemed particularly keen to attempt the 60-mile boat trip to Qikertaaluk Island. Finally Jaaka Amaamak, one of the village's best hunters, agreed to take me and we left on a grey and sodden September day in his 22-foot freighter canoe. The bay was calm, but once out in Hudson Strait, the wind increased, a heavy lateral swell rocked the boat alarmingly, and when we emerged from the shelter of Cape Prince of Wales, gale-force winds ripped the wave-tops off, and spumes of angry spindrift raced across the sea. Guiding the pitching boat with superb skill, Amaamak skirted shoals and breakers and we found protection in a small cove. Wet through, I was all in favour of camping, but Amaamak had no tent along. 'I left one two years ago on Qikertaaluk Island' he explained, and after lunch and lots of tea, he curled up and went to sleep. Too chilled to follow his example, I wandered about and nearly everywhere I went I saw signs of former habitation: tent rings, stone mounds that may have served as kayak supports, the sunken, overgrown remnant of a house, a broken seal-oil lamp. Inukshuks, man-shaped stone cairns, looked down at us from a higher ridge.

The tide returned, the wind eased and we continued. The waves were still high, and Amaamak took them individually, weaving his boat from trough to crest and down into the next trough again, never fighting the waves, but moulding our progress to their shape.

We stopped at Cape Aivertok. There were old caches and graves and remnants of many ancient houses. High on a hill stood a little church. It had been built in Wakeham Bay many years ago, put on skids and towed out here by 50 sled dogs to serve the people who then still lived dispersed in many camps in this region. Now it stood infinitely lonely, its weathered walls the colour of the surrounding rock landscape.

Amaamak shot a big bearded seal and, provided with food, we crossed Whitley Bay, rounded Cape Qajartalik and turned into the deep, narrow, sheltered bay dividing the cape and the peninsula it forms from the rest of Qikertaaluk Island. It was dark now, but Amaamak found immediately the little mound of stones under



Jaaka Amaamak traces the outlines of petroglyphs with black chalk to give emphasis to the shallow incisions.

which he had hidden his tent two years previously. It was dank and mouldy and full of holes, but better than no tent at all, and once we had built a sleeping platform of heather we were comfortable.

In the morning, Amaamak showed me the petroglyphs. At first I could only see the steatite quarry, an area perhaps 200 feet wide by 100 feet high of sloping rock faces, here and there pitted and broken where chunks of soapstone had been chopped or sawed out. And suddenly, as Amaamak pointed, I saw the glyphs: shallow lines in the rock that seemed to assume form and stare at me. Since I knew from earlier experience that it is nearly impossible to photograph petroglyphs except, perhaps, under ideal conditions of slanting sunlight which throws them into relief, we had taken black chalk along to darken their outlines. Amaamak went to work on the first petroglyphs we had discovered, a closely spaced group of seven mask-like faces, while I searched for others and during one morning we found 51. A more thorough search would, undoubtedly, reveal more since many glyphs are nearly invisible under a heavy growth of grey, black or orange lichen. More than half the petroglyphs we discovered were 'arranged' in groups, the rest were scattered singly over the width and height of the soapstone outcrop. Most had been incised into the stone to a depth of about a quarter of an inch, but some, merely scratched onto the rough surface, were nearly invisible and barely discernible by touch.

We had little time. The weather, now fairly good, might change quickly. We wanted to reach the mainland and if possible, Wakeham Bay the same day. Amaamak darkened conscientiously and with care the contours of all the faces we had found and I photographed them. We were both busy, and there was no time to get a 'feeling' for the place. As soon as we were finished, Amaamak, with a motion to the ominously dark sky, insisted we leave. We walked to the coast, cached the tent and loaded the boat. And then came a brief reprieve. Tea! No right-minded Eskimo would set out on a long, cold and wet return trip without having first a good hot mug of tea, and Amaamak is an eminently right-minded man. While he boiled water, I walked back to the quarry. Where before there had been blank rock, dark faces now stared at me. I sat down and looked at them, attempting to conjure up a vision of the people who had made them, trying to divine the meaning they once had held for the people of this region. And the masks looked back at me, mute, mysterious, impassive, yet with a strange, nearly mesmeric power, regarding me fixedly across the unfathomable gap of centuries. ◆

Beaver Club

at the Sign of The Queen Elizabeth

Text and layout by
Shirlee A. Smith

T. N. Beaupré, the Club toastmaster.

78th Fraser Highlanders pipe in head table guests.

'THE PEOPLE OF MONTREAL, in general, are remarkably hospitable and attentive to strangers' noted the Irish visitor, Isaac Weld, who was in America from November 1795 to January 1797.

Ten years before Mr. Weld's arrival the Beaver Club, noted for its gaiety and hospitality, had been founded by the Wintering Partners of the North West Company. A Wintering Partner must have spent at least one season in the upper country, the *pays d'en haut,* as the Northwest was called. Originally there were nineteen members and later when the number was increased to 55 the list read like a roll call of the Clans and Seigneurs: Charles Chaboillez, Duncan McGillivray, J. M. Lamothe, Alexander Mackenzie, Simon McTavish, Pierre de Rocheblave... They formed a strong family compact and were undisputably the rulers of Montreal commerce.

One of the main objects of the Club 'was to bring together at stated periods during the winter season, a set of men highly respectable in society who had passed their best days in a savage country and had encountered the difficulties and dangers incident to a pursuit peculiar to the fur trade of Canada.' On admission each member was obligated to have a gold medal made, properly engraved with his name, the date of his first visit to the Indian country, and the motto 'Fortitude in Distress.'

The members of the Beaver Club met fortnightly between November and April at various public houses. Richard Dillon's Montreal Hotel at Place d'Armes and the Mansion House Hotel at 156 St Paul Street were two favourite dining places.

At each dinner, five toasts were regularly proposed: The Mother of all Saints; The King; The Fur Trade in all its Branches; Voyageurs, Wives and Children; Absent Members. After that, everyone was permitted to drink as he pleased and retire at his pleasure.

The feasting, drinking and Highland dancing of the Beaver Club members are now part of Canada's folklore although one suspects that some of the stories are apocryphal. The last recorded meeting of the Club was in 1827.

In 1959 the management of the Queen Elizabeth Hotel in Montreal revived the Beaver Club, and John Fisher was the first President. Today the club has about 800 members.

At the 1973 annual dinner, held on January 19, the Club honored the 'Wintering Partners' of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Governor, George T. Richardson, the President, D. S. McGiverin, and most of the directors, were at the head table. All were costumed as befitted Montreal merchants of another century. T. N. Beaupré, one of the directors of H B C, who has a commanding voice, but a convivial spirit, is the Club Toastmaster.

After the luxurious and imposing dinner had been served, the members and their guests were entertained by Indian dancers from Caughnawaga, and a fur fashion show presented by The Bay, Phillips Square, Montreal. ◆

D. S. McGiverin (foreground), The Hon. Claude Simard, and M. J. Messel.

Left to right: D. S. McGiverin, President, H B C; The Hon. Claude Simard, Minister, Tourism, Fish & Game, Québec; M. J. Messel, President, Lake Asbestos of Québec Ltd.; Roland Giroux, President, Québec Hydro-Electric Commission; T. N. Beaupré, Chairman of the Board and President, Domtar Limited; G. T. Richardson, President, James Richardson & Sons, Limited, and Governor of the H B C. Mr Messel is the outgoing President of the Beaver Club and Mr Giroux is the incoming one.

Enticing coquilles St Jacques.

Fruit follows a multicourse dinner.

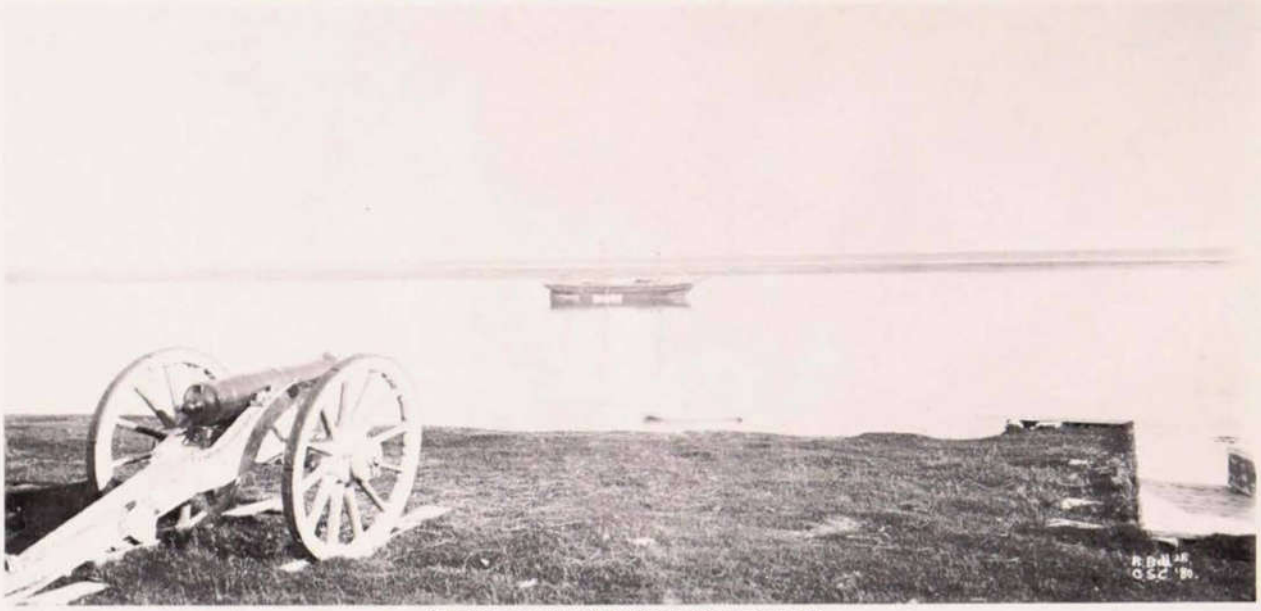
George T. Richardson (r.) presents Roland Giroux with H B C flag.

Fur fashions. On the right is a multicolour reversible H B C blanket coat. The exterior is Kaglan lamb with dyed stripes to match the blanket.

Guests at the annual Beaver Club dinner were, from l.: Reginald K. Groome, President of Hilton Canada and General Manager of The Queen Elizabeth; His Worship Mayor Jean Drapeau, Montreal; Madame Hugues Lapointe, wife of the Lt Governor of Québec, Charles P. de Volpi, and Mrs Charles Bell of New York.

Photos by:

B and I Photography, Montreal.
Tommy Thompson, Montreal.



ROBERT BELL

The 'Ocean Nymph' at York Factory, 1880.

Whaling in Hudson Bay

BY W. GILLIES ROSS

Part II – 1866-67

WHALING VOYAGE OF THE 'OCEAN NYMPH'

AFTER THE FAILURE of its Marble Island whaling venture in 1765-1772 the Hudson's Bay Company lost interest in whaling prospects for nearly a century. The summer trading voyages along the west coast of Hudson Bay continued only until 1790, following which northern Indians and Eskimos had to make their way a few hundred miles to Churchill in order to trade for the goods upon which they had become dependent. The withdrawal of the Company from northern trading and whaling was probably sound economically, for the returns had been small, but it left the door open for the entrance of American whalers in 1860 and their activities soon posed a threat to the Company's Churchill trade. The Company responded by sending the whaler *Ocean Nymph* north to oppose the American interests in 1866.

A decade earlier the question of exploiting the marine resources of Hudson Bay had been raised by a British parliamentary committee examining the Company's possessions and activities in British North America. The explorer John Rae admitted that whales existed in Roes Welcome Sound but expressed the opinion that their numbers were too small to justify a settlement in the region and pointed out that navigation conditions were very restrictive. Captain Herd, a Company sailing master, stated that in twenty-two years of sailing into Hudson Bay he had seen only one whale. He believed that few whales or seals existed in the Bay, that Eskimo trade was paltry, and that heavy ice would prevent ships – even steamers – from exploiting such resources anyway.

More encouraging remarks had been made by Alexander Isbister, whose views were not prejudiced by actual experience in the region. He drew attention to the success of American whalers off the north coast of Alaska and noted that the Hudson's Bay Company itself

'The attempt made by us to re-open the trade with the Esquimaux, North of Churchill, and to profit in some degree by the Whale fishing has not, we are sorry to say, been successful.'

Report of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company to be laid before the shareholders previous to the general meeting to be held 19 November 1867.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to quote from its archives.

had obtained in one year (1747) 1,314 whale fins (slabs of whalebone) 'which of course represented more than 600 whales.' How he arrived at the latter figure Isbister did not bother to explain; 1,314 whale fins would represent about four whales, not 600, and 1,314 *pounds* of whale fins could be obtained from one whale.

In general, the committee encountered cautious or pessimistic opinions on the prospects of exploiting the marine resources of Hudson Bay. It was therefore an event of considerable irony when, only three years later, American whalers commenced a whaling operation which was to last for more than half a century.

The American entrance was basically an extension of the Davis Strait whale fishery, where British, Americans, and Dutch had been operating since early in the eighteenth century. The first American ventures in Hudson Bay achieved phenomenal success. One of the first two ships to visit the whaling grounds in Roes Welcome left the following summer with 20,000 pounds of whalebone, more than any other American vessel had ever secured in Davis Strait. From 1860 to 1865 thirty voyages were made into Hudson Bay, and the first decade of whaling saw the slaughter of about 400 whales. Normally the whalers sailed directly to Roes Welcome Sound, pursued whales until late September, took up winter quarters in nearby harbours (including Marble Island, where the Hudson's Bay Company had operated a century earlier), carried out floe edge whaling in the spring, cruised again during the summer, and departed for home by early September.

The Hudson's Bay Company knew little of these whaling activities which were occurring several hundred miles north of its post at Churchill, but it soon became aware that wintering crews were trading with Eskimo groups and this gave just cause for concern. A letter from Churchill in 1864 drew attention to the problem:

Several of the Esquimaux here during Augt. report having seen Americans & American vessels some distance to the northward of this place, from information gleaned from these natives their, the Americans ostensible object is, whale hunting, but I saw clothes worn by these Indians, unmistakeably American Manufacture, which I am sure the poor Indians never got for nothing.

The trading activities of the American whalers brought forth a response from the Company. On 9 June 1866 its Secretary wrote to William Mactavish, Governor of Rupert's Land, Fort Garry:

As regards the 'Ocean Nymph' you are aware that as respects the Hudsons Bay Company her destination is a novel one. She has been fitted out for a whaling voyage and besides the ordinary crew has a whaling master and a party of men accustomed to whale fishing on board. You are already aware that the object of the Committee in sending the 'Ocean Nymph' into those regions is to compete with the American Whalers, who of late years have been making their way into Hudsons Bay and driving a profitable trade not only in Oil, but it is believed also in Furs.

The Secretary reminded him to supply an interpreter for the vessel, and a man 'well acquainted with the nature of the Esquimaux trade' to supervise its trading activities.

He will of course have to pass the Winter on board the Ship and to make the best use of that time to establish friendly relations with the natives and to obtain the best information as to what should be done hereafter towards our carrying on a successful opposition to the American Interlopers.

Outfitted in the spring of 1866 with provisions, trade goods, and 'all the modern appliances' for whale hunting, the four-year-old barque *Ocean Nymph* was insured for £6000 and made ready for sea. Officers and crew joined ship. The Captain, James Taylor, was to receive a monthly wage of £12-12 and was optimistically promised a share of the profits of the voyage 'according to the usual custom of the Dundee and Peterhead whalers which winter in Cumberland Strait'.

On 10 June the ship left Gravesend. It stopped at Stromness in the Orkney Islands on 19 June to take on

vegetables, livestock, and additional men, and departed from there on 2 July in company with the Company vessels *Lady Head* and *Prince Rupert,* all heading for Arctic America.

Captain Taylor's instructions were to proceed to Churchill in Hudson Bay, take on board the trading master and interpreter, then sail immediately to Marble Island and 'endeavour to obtain from the Esquimaux information as to the most fitting place for you to lay your vessel up for the Winter.' He was to depend also on the knowledge of the American whalers, especially on fundamental issues such as the location of whales, but the Company wished to avoid friction and advised Taylor 'You will be particularily careful not to lay your vessel up near their Winter quarters in order to avoid disputes and annoyance between them and your officers and crew.' The Committee added that 'Alexander Hay, a man of very considerable experience in the whaling trade' would accompany the vessel to ensure success in whaling, and they requested a 'friendly & correct' attitude towards any natives met with on the voyage.

After an uneventful Atlantic crossing the *Ocean Nymph* passed Resolution Island on 25 July and entered Hudson Strait amid loose pack ice and icebergs. When the New Bedford whaler *Orray Taft* was encountered a few days later Captain Taylor eagerly boarded her and 'got as much information as time would permit'. He need not have rushed to exhaust topics of conversation; the two ships were destined to spend ten months frozen in together at Marble Island. The *Lady Head* and *Prince Rupert* caught up soon after and two American whalers, the *Black Eagle* and *Cornelia,* were sighted near Salisbury Island. By 8 August the transit of Hudson Strait was complete and the ships were heading to their respective destinations in the Bay. The *Ocean Nymph* ran down to Churchill, picked up Mr Simpson, the trading master, and Norman Martin, an interpreter, and six days later (23 August) dropped anchor in a cove on the north coast of Marble Island. The men discovered a land-locked harbour on the southwest coast, where whale jaw-bones, a flagstaff and a hut indicated whaling activity. No American whalers were present however. It was the ideal place to winter. But there was still time for whaling before establishing winter quarters, so the ship weighed anchor on 28 August and sailed north into Roes Welcome Sound.

So far so good. The whaler had crossed the Atlantic, completed its complement at Churchill, selected a safe winter harbour near the whaling grounds, and commenced whaling operations. Yet it is clear from the four logbooks compiled on the voyage by Taylor, Hay, and two mates, that relationships among officers and crew had been severely strained from the start. It was not a happy ship.

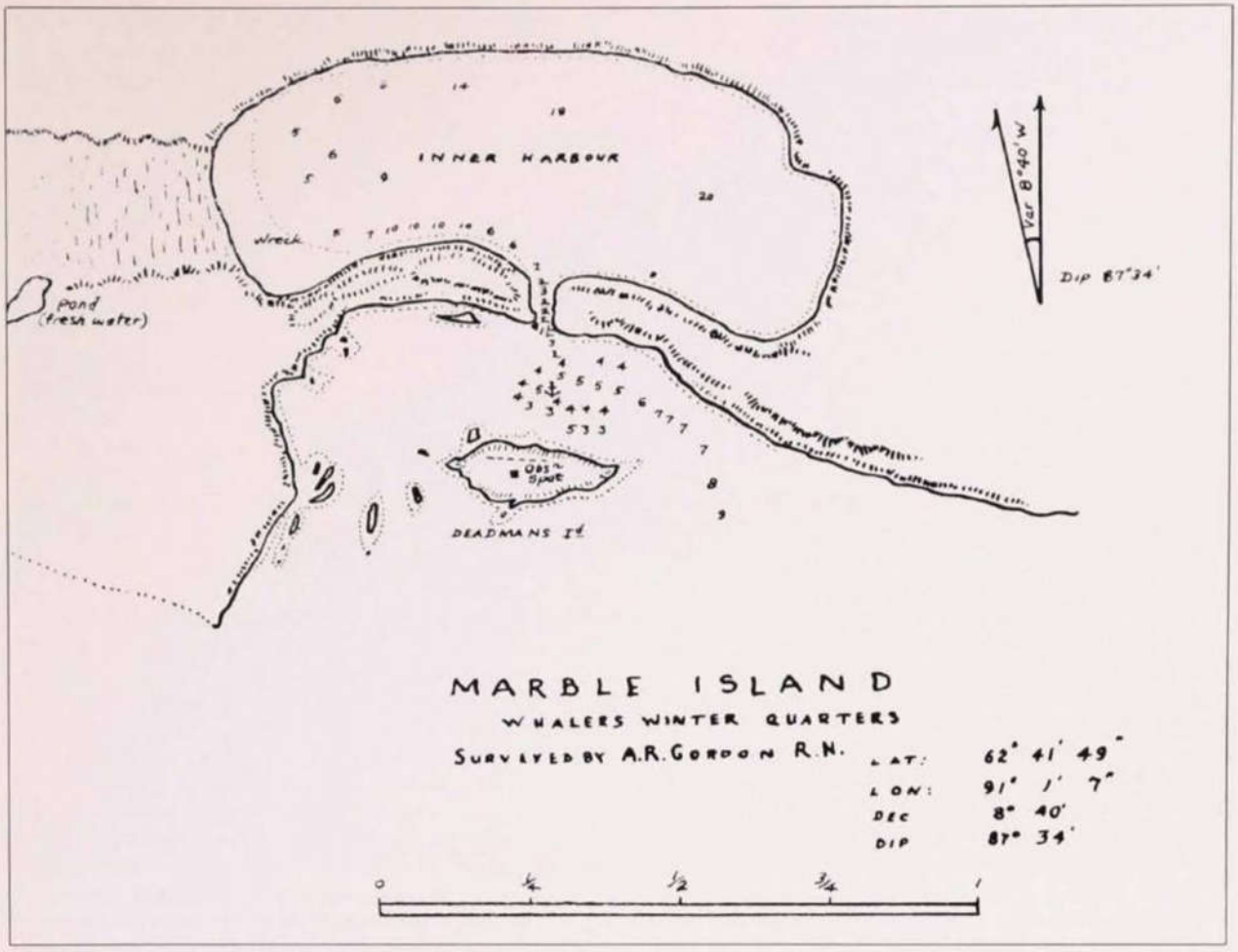
At Stromness several of the crew had refused duty and struck for higher wages, claiming that the ship was undermanned. Animosity had developed between the Scots taken on board for whaling and the rest of the crew. The Mate had demonstrated a propensity for treating the ship's boys roughly, and the Captain had threatened to discharge him. The Whaling Master, Hay, had accused Captain Taylor of 'humbuging' the pilot and endangering the vessel at Stromness. Hay constantly found fault with the discipline on board and never hesitated to openly assert his opinions. 'I told the Capt. that was not the way to rule a Ship', he recorded in his logbook. The Captain considered Hay 'sulky', 'disagreeable', inclined to provoke unrest among the crew, and in general 'more of a hindrance to our voyage than otherwise'.

The basis of the Taylor-Hay friction may have been, in part at least, the ambiguity about their respective spheres of authority. Taylor was Captain and Hay was in charge of whaling. Did the direction of whaling imply command of the crew? Command of the ship? If so, at what point should Taylor relinquish control?

The division of authority appears to have been imprecise, at least in the minds of the two men, and the issue came to the surface on the whaling grounds. On 1 September Taylor, according to his own account, gave Hay 'charge of the *crew,* as he is here to manage the fishing'. But Hay recorded that 'The Capt. asked me to take charge of the *Ship* & do as I like with her as he did not know anything about whaling' [italics are the author's]. Taylor had not in fact surrendered complete authority over the vessel for the next day he ordered it south to Marble Island, seeing no prospects in the whaling. When Hay and the crew complained he asserted that 'he had a right to interfere in the fishing if he liked' and reinforced this statement with a threat to shoot Hay. That sort of threat could make a man uneasy, and Hay was already uneasy, for a week earlier at Marble Island he had written 'It is a most fearful prospect to me to be all winter here I am afraid that there will be murder committed before the voyage is ended.'

Further attempts at whaling were unsuccessful and on 11 September the *Ocean Nymph* retired to Marble Island. The harbour, once vacant, was by this time occupied by the American whaler *Orray Taft* but there was no time to look for an alternate site. The crew warped the vessel into the inner harbour and began to make preparations for the winter. They moved spare gear ashore, converted the deck house into a trading store, tidied up the hold, sent boats to the mainland to obtain caribou meat from Eskimos, and constructed wooden sleds with runners shod with whale jaw-bones to transport pond ice to the ship for water supply.

When harbour ice was strong enough the ship's anchor was taken up and a fire hole cut near the ship. In late November the men coated the hull with ice and erected a thick bank of snow all round as insulation against cold. The same treatment was accorded the pig sty, with splendid results; 'the poor brutes was squalling



The west end or inner harbour where the 'Ocean Nymph' wintered in company with the American vessel 'Orray Taft'. From a map by A. R. Gordon, 1888.

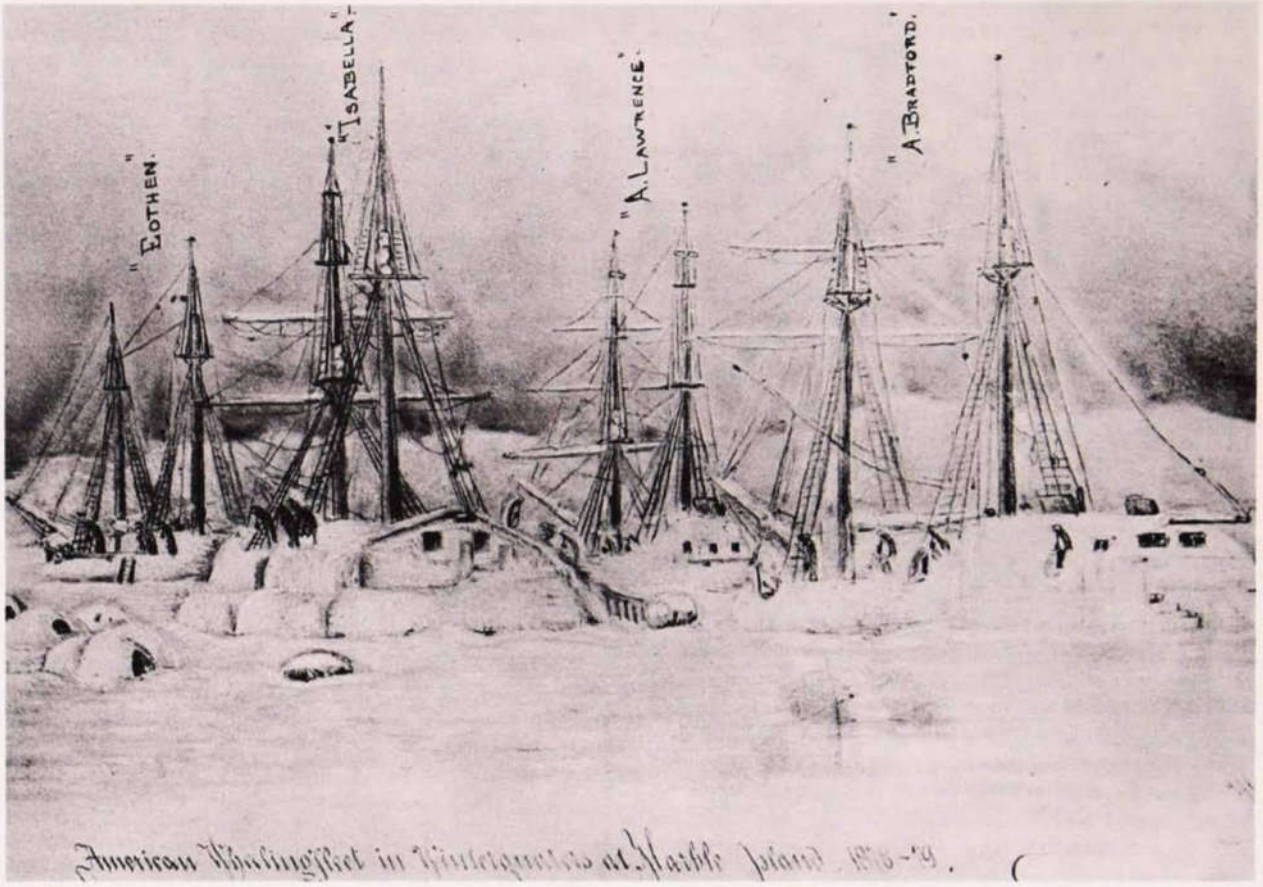
all the time before and nigh froze to death but now it is so warm in their house that . . . they will hardly come out to feed.'

Measures were taken to keep the crew healthy and active. The Captain sold winter clothing from the slop chest, the ship's boys 'having come away from London so meanly clad that if I would not give them clothes they would freeze to death in a short time.' He ordered the Cook forward for dirtiness and sent one of the boys, who was 'in a shocking state with vermin', to be shaved and scrubbed. Daytime activities included setting fish nets beneath pond ice, cutting ice for water, shooting, and occasionally playing football. In the evening there was instruction in arithmetic, navigation, and algebra. Church services were held on Sunday. On Christmas day the men were served fresh pork, soup, plum pudding, and some wine, and New Year's Eve was marked by singing and dancing in the deck house.

This altogether reasonable routine was punctuated from time to time by incidents in which underlying tensions came to the surface. One involving a boat lost by the Second Mate brought the Captain to a high point of rage. Hay wrote 'The Capt. and Second Mate was speaking loud about the boat the Capt. said he would blow his brains out. I jumped out of bed & saw him go in to his berth & take out a pistol with him saw return again to his berth.' On another occasion, when Hay was giving a sermon to the crew on their invitation, Taylor interrupted, accused him of 'trying to raise a meeting in the ship', implied mutinous conduct, recorded the statements of witnesses, and informed the crew that Hay was trying to sow 'dispeace' on board.

Other incidents were merely the standard fare of whaling voyages: bad language, insolence, complaints about the food, thefts (venison, a cask of bread and ten bottles of port), the occurrence of venereal disease, and the onset of scurvy.

As the arctic winter wore on at Marble Island, Hay remained remote from the rest of the cabin personnel, voluntarily or otherwise, and filled his logbook with complaints about the Captain. The Carpenter, the Mates,



THE WHALING MUSEUM, NEW BEDFORD, MASS.

When this sketch of the American whaling fleet at Marble Island was done in the winter of 1878-79 by a member of the Schwatka Expedition, the 'Orray Taft', wrecked in 1872, was lying on the shore of the inner harbour.

the Steward and the Captain passed many a pleasant afternoon drinking ale or wine, telling stories, singing, and playing checkers, but Hay's puritanical outlook was to disapprove of good times; he could not tolerate others enjoying themselves, especially on the Sabbath. He found 'the arguments & loose talk & the Steward singing . . . a disgrace to Human Society'. Little annoyances grated sharply on his nerves. He described the Captain 'going into the cabin like a man insane cracking his thumbs & whistling'. While there is no doubt that knuckle-cracking and whistling can be irritating, Hay appeared to have been extraordinarily sensitive. He must have made plain his displeasure for on 14 April he was able to record 'This is the Quietest Sunday I have seen on board this 4 months the Capt has not Whistled only twice and he checked himself both times.'

During the period of almost ten months spent at Marble Island, Trading Master Simpson did his best to develop a lucrative trade with Eskimos on the mainland, but geographical circumstances made his objective unattainable. Marble Island lies about ten miles off the west coast of Hudson Bay, and the winter pack ice conditions are seldom stable enough to permit sled travel or open enough to allow boats to cross. The island could thus be isolated from Eskimos and game resources for long periods in winter, a fact that gave it the highest scurvy rate of any whaling harbour in Hudson Bay.

Boats of the *Ocean Nymph* traded with Eskimos on the mainland in late September 1866: then winter set in and there was no further contact until early February, when two Eskimos managed to cross over loose pack. They twice tried unsuccessfully to return and made it on the third try. Small numbers of Eskimos arrived on five occasions in February and March. In April six men from the *Ocean Nymph* reached the mainland by boat but had to abandon it and return on foot over the drifting pack, a hazardous crossing during which two of them fell between ice floes into the shockingly cold water. Boats failed twice in May to reach the mainland, but with the more favourable ice condition of June, boats crossed at least five times.

The keen efforts of the Company men to secure Eskimo trade undermined relations with the Americans and ironically helped to create the friction which the Company had instructed Taylor to avoid. Initially the two crews seemed reasonably well disposed towards each

other. Sailors of the *Orray Taft* helped warp the *Ocean Nymph* into the inner harbour, and later Captain Parker showed Taylor how to cut the vessel forward and take up the anchor in the ice. Officers and men visited between the ships and scarce food items such as coffee were exchanged. Captain Parker came over with potatoes to make a poultice for a sick man, and sent a bottle of rum to cheer up one of the *Ocean Nymph's* whaling crews camped out on a cold night. When scurvy spread on the *Ocean Nymph* the Americans often provided antiscorbutics such as turnips, cabbages, onions, and lime juice.

When Eskimos began delivering trade goods to the vessels commercial motives came into play. It would have been reasonable for both crews to co-operate in hunting and trade and then divide the take, a practice often employed by American whalers wintering together. But each vessel chose the path of independence and proceeded to compete for Eskimo furs and meat. The only party that benefited from this policy was the Eskimos.

Eskimo visitors tended to linger for several days and the Company men tolerated their 'begging' and their prodigious appetites with difficulty. 'We must try and keep them in as good humer as we can. If we dont they will all go to the Americans who make a great fuss about them' wrote Taylor. The natives did not hesitate to play the ships off against one another, visiting both for food and threatening on more than one occasion to take their furs to the Americans unless the British raised their prices. Captain Taylor and Mr Simpson attempted to discourage them from associating with the interlopers, and pointed out the advantages they might receive through allegiance to the Hudson's Bay Company. On 15 April Taylor wrote that the Eskimos

> are very pleased with our goods, and seem much delighted when we tell them if we get a good trade from them this time they are likely to have a Post among them for trading. They say that is just what they would like for Churchill is too far away, they can not bring much in their canoes and I believe it to be the case, for they eat such an enormous quantity of food that that itself is much against them travelling any distance.

The British tightened the economic pressures. They intercepted a musk-ox skin bound to the *Orray Taft* and traded a ship's pistol to obtain it. They persuaded a number of Eskimos 'to promise to bring all their furs to our ship.' When an Eskimo admitted having traded five wolf skins to the Americans the Company men offered him 'a new Capot and some powder to get them back and trade them here.' Captain Parker was overheard proclaiming that he would accompany a boat to the mainland to trade and the men of the *Ocean Nymph* quickly launched one 'hurrying . . . to get to the Natives first' and winning the race by about fifteen minutes. The rivalry was ludicrous.

As a result of the intense competition for Eskimo clients social intercourse between the vessels declined. Parker observed in late February 'Our neighbors from the O. Nymph do not visit us at all now. We are the same as alone'. Captain Taylor spoke of 'a great cool between the officers of both ships'. An incident in mid June made things worse. On the east end of the island men of the *Orray Taft* found 'a bed of coal that had been left there some time ago' and claimed possession by discovery. When the crew of the *Ocean Nymph* carried some away the Americans objected, shifted some into their whaling house, and burned about two tons of the rest. Captain Taylor observed 'It is only now they begin to show their malice, they have been agreeable enough all winter, but now they are jealous of us getting a few furs, and them none'. Resentment against the Americans for destroying the coal was widespread among the crew of the *Ocean Nymph* and, when Captain Parker requested help in sawing a channel through the ice to open water, Capain Taylor refused. Parker, in his journal, admitted that the coal issue had been a factor but added 'I have known that he would refuse to do it for fear that I should get out before him.'

It is entirely possible that this was the coal deposited at East End Harbour in 1719 by the men of the Knight expedition, all of whom perished there during the next two years. As that discovery expedition had been financed by the Hudson's Bay Company, the crew of the *Ocean Nymph* might have had a stronger claim to possession of the coal than they realized.

For the crew of the *Ocean Nymph* the winter of 1866-67 was a difficult one. Shipboard morale suffered under the rivalry of Captain and Whaling Master; normal social intercourse with an adjacent vessel was sacrificed to competitive efforts in the fur trade; and a number of men struggled against the effects of scurvy from January until spring. One can well imagine the feeling of relief

Winter activities on Marble Island 1878-79, sketched by a member of the Schwatka expedition.

when, after a week of blasting a channel through the harbour ice, the vessel broke out of the land floe on 24 June and commenced summer cruising.

North of Whale Point the ice of Roes Welcome Sound was still impenetrable and the *Ocean Nymph* had to ply the waters between Marble Island and Cape Fullerton for more than a month before sailing to Repulse Bay in the northern reaches of the whaling grounds. Captain Taylor had no experience dodging about in such reef-strewn, ice-filled waters and came close to losing the ship. To escape pack ice setting in against the coast he took the vessel into the lee of Depot Island, but the depth was insufficient, the ship ran aground lightly, the wind shifted and ice floes pressed in against the ship, causing it to drag anchor and stick more solidly on the reef. Determined efforts with kedge anchors finally got them off safely after twelve tense days in this predicament.

Repulse Bay was a scene of activity. Four American whalers (the *Ansel Gibbs, Black Eagle, Cornelia* and *Glacier*) had wintered there and had combined forces for the spring and summer whaling. Their whaleboats were everywhere. The steamer *Nimrod* from Newfoundland had arrived with survivors of the whaler *Pioneer*, wrecked in Hudson Strait. Eskimos were numerous in camps around the Bay. Many had worked as hunters for the whalers during the winter and some were manning whaleboats as well. Charles Francis Hall lived among them. He had retrieved some relics of the Franklin Expedition near Pelly Bay and was eager to carry the search to King William Island.

The other whalers reported sighting only two whales during the summer and considered the outlook poor. The prospects for Eskimo trade were no brighter, for the natives had long since disposed of their furs to the Americans. But Hall came forward with a few hundred pounds of whalebone to trade for supplies. Simpson gave him in return 1,000 pounds of bread, a cask of sugar, a cask of pork, a bag of coffee, and a number of pipes and small trade items. The latter caused Taylor and Simpson some concern for instead of opposing the trade of other parties the *Ocean Nymph* was in fact setting up Hall with goods to trade or give to Eskimos.

On 8 August the *Ocean Nymph* left Repulse Bay and sailed south. She encountered the American Whalers *Era* and *Isabella* in Roes Welcome Sound, picked up gear at Marble Island, landed the interpreter at York Factory, and then bore north for Hudson Strait and home. Off Cape Digges heavy seas carried away some of the bulwarks, stove in the deckhouse, and drove the vessel towards a lee coast. As a last resort Captain Taylor ran her inside Cape Digges, passed between two small islands with surf breaking on both sides of the vessel, bumped bottom once, and emerged successfully in Hudson Strait declaring that it was 'a very good Passage and might be useful for H.H.B. Co.'s ships sometimes.' It was clear sailing across the Atlantic and on 30 September the *Ocean Nymph* berthed at the West India Docks in London. Taylor's last logbook entry was 'So this miserable and unsuccessful voyage has ended.'

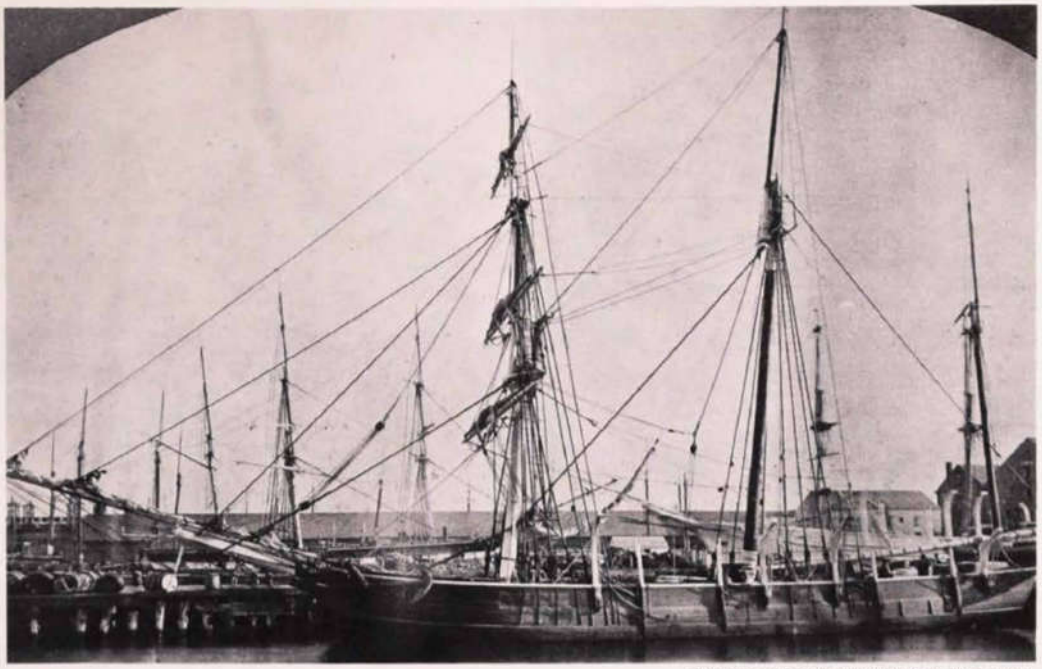
Indeed, the voyage had fallen a long way short of success. The fur-trade returns, as presented in the Captain's logbook, included 313 fox, about forty-five caribou, twenty-three musk-ox, nineteen wolf, seven hare, four seal and one swan. The vessel had also collected oil rendered from 105 seals, about 130 pounds of walrus ivory, and 238 pounds of whalebone traded from C.F. Hall. Compared to the cost and duration of the venture these returns were disappointing.

Marble Island had been an unsuitable base for Eskimo trade, uninhabited and isolated from the mainland through most of the winter by the drifting pack. In retrospect Captain Taylor appreciated its disadvantages; 'I consider the trade with these natives has not at all had a fair trial, nor is it possible to do so, except by wintering at the main land. I believe that a small vessel or a post on land might make some out.' Taylor also felt that a more competent interpreter than Norman Martin would have been to their advantage in trading.

As to whales, not a single one had been secured. This lack of success was not peculiar to the *Ocean Nymph*. Few whales were obtained by American whalers in the summer of 1866. In the following summer general discouragement prevailed in Repulse Bay about the prospects; sightings were rare and only the *Glacier* made a kill. Taylor reported that 'Nevertheless, during thirteen months in Hudson Bay the whalemen of the *Ocean Nymph* had sighted upwards of twenty whales. During the floe whaling at Marble Island in the spring of 1867 sightings had been made almost daily.

A number of deficiencies in equipment and techniques may have undermined the effectiveness of both whaling and trading operations. On board ship at winter harbour the men were constantly uncomfortable. Only one stove is mentioned in the logbooks and it was considered 'very unfit for this climate'. Coal was in short supply. In August 1866, the crew were employed digging turf for fuel in case the coal was insufficient for the winter. In the following April a logbook entry describes wearing 'mittens and Deer Skin coats in the cabin', and suggests that it may become necessary to burn spars for heat. Low temperatures froze the wine in the cabin and as the Captain noted on 13 January 'our lemon juice has lost most of its ascidity by being frozen, the Vinegar as well.' This probably reduced their antiscorbutic properties and contributed to the spread of scurvy. While shooting was encouraged as a form of recreation there seems to have been no organized hunting of seal or walrus, and little effort to induce Eskimos to hunt on behalf of the vessel. These potential sources of antiscorbutics were not utilized, and the ship's provisions do not appear to have included vegetables.

There was little wood on board for building a hut ashore, making sleds, partitioning cabins, and other tasks. The Captain stated 'we hardly have a board to



The American whaler, 'Isabella', 1878.

THE WHALING MUSEUM, NEW BEDFORD, MASS.

repair a boat with.' Supplies for the entire voyage included only 200 nails! Safe storage lockers were inadequate; thefts of food occurred several times and the Captain feared that the men would steal the furs collected as well. There were insufficient cooking implements for the spring whaling crews, and the vessel lacked ice saws and blasting canisters for breaking out of harbour ice in June. The Americans, experienced in the whaling, were by comparison well supplied.

The real weakness was in the personnel. The Captain considered the whalemen 'a bad lot altogether' and this opinion is borne out by the statement of Captain Parker of the *Orray Taft*, who confessed relief that they were not under his command and expressed anxiety about their behaviour:

> I would never trust them as they would be made rich for ever with the spoils of the two ships, and they may at any time try to take them. Besides they have a antipathy against the hudsons bay company and may try and get revenge.

In addition to the crew's quality and its division into factions the rivalry between Captain and Whaling Master must have weakened the entire fabric of personal relationships on the vessel.

The decision to send the *Ocean Nymph* into northwestern Hudson Bay in 1866 was based on the assumption that the trading activities of the American whalers were diverting Eskimo trade away from Churchill. This is open to question. While wintering whalers certainly attracted Eskimos and encouraged them to provide caribou clothing and meat, it is clear from whaling logbooks, journals and account books of this period that the whaling masters had little interest in the commercial fur trade. In addition, virtually all the Eskimos who came into contact with American whalers at Marble Island, Depot Island, and Repulse Bay lived from 300 to 600 miles from Churchill – too far to develop regular trading connections. The southernmost Eskimos had much earlier benefited from the Company's coastal trading voyages but these had terminated in 1790, leaving them beyond Churchill's region of direct trade. For these reasons it is clear that the American whalers were not obtaining furs normally delivered to the post at Churchill.

Thus the Hudson's Bay Company may have overreacted to the presence of the Americans, as indeed the officers of the *Ocean Nymph* over-reacted to the proximity of the *Orray Taft*, which was clearly not out for furs. Captain Parker's journal mentions securing only about twenty-five furs of one kind or another, while the *Ocean Nymph* collected over 400. Parker noted 'I didn't think that the Honorable Company could get as much trade as I could was I so minded.'

The *Ocean Nymph* failed to effectively oppose the American interlopers as the Company had intended. In fact, its fur-trading operations, ironically, may have drawn the attention of the whaling masters to this source of revenue. In subsequent years they began to collect furs with the same determination and success that they demonstrated in whaling. By the time the Hudson's Bay Company made its third and final attempt at black whaling a quarter of a century later the American whalers were dependent as much on Eskimo trade as on whaling returns. ◆

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Sourdough Thermometer

By Diane Newell Macdougall,
Historian, National Historic Sites Service.

MANY TALES HAVE BECOME PART of the folklore of the Klondike gold rush, and one such legend is the story of a 'sourdough' thermometer.

Yukon cabins often had a bottle of quicksilver hanging outside the door, but while this common device was a practical one, it is the more elaborate thermometer which is of particular interest.

According to an old sourdough's account an efficient cold-weather thermometer was improvised when it was learned that it would take up to two years to bring steel thermometers in for sale at the trading post located at the junction of the Fortymile and Yukon Rivers. In the early 1890s, the trader, Leroy McQuesten, was persuaded to empty a number of pill bottles; these were used as containers for the thermometer ingredients. Quicksilver (mercury) would freeze at -40° F; coal oil, at -50° F; and Jamaica ginger (a ginger extract used for flavouring) at -60° F. Perry Davis' Painkiller turned white at -60° F, crystallized at -70° F and froze solid at -75° F. St. Jacob's Oil (a liniment, also known as St. Jakob's Oel) would not freeze even in the coldest weather. These items were all available to Yukon prospectors in those early days. A teaspoon of each was

Supplies for the Yukon seldom included steel thermometers. Here men crossing the White Pass c. 1898 are caught in a snowstorm.

placed in separate glass containers and arranged appropriately on a rack.

St. Jacob's Oil was a 19th century liniment which consisted mainly of water, ether, alcohol, turpentine, and a small proportion of aconite with red colouring matter. The Perry Davis' Painkiller appears to have been used extensively throughout the Northwest. Glass bottle fragments found on sites of fur-trade posts dating after 1840 usually include pieces of the Painkiller bottle. The Lower Fort Garry sales shop inventory of 1871 lists:

American Goods, Perry Davis' Painkiller
3¼ doz. at 8/6 per dozen for a total of £ 1.7.8

The Painkiller, first introduced in 1839, is still available in Canadian drug stores. The 1839 batch contained the following ingredients:

gum myrrh - 2¼ pounds
capsicum - 10 oz.
gum opium - 8 oz.
gum benzoin - 6 oz.
gum suiaic - 3 oz.
alcohol - 5 gallons

The sourdough thermometer was recently put to the test when D. Lawlor of the National Research Council offered to calibrate the liquids used as thermometer substances. St. Jacob's Oil is no longer available but Mr Lawlor pointed out that ether, one of the ingredients, has a water freezing point of -175° F – which would account for the liniment not freezing in the coldest weather.

The other 'thermometer' liquids react in essentially the manner described by the old sourdough. In particular:

'Perry Davis' Painkiller was observed in a stirred alcohol bath between 70° F (room temperature) and -75° F with the following results: As the temperature approaches 32° F (freezing point) the liquid commences to become cloudy and continues to change colour to approximately -60° F where it becomes almost white, and remains in this state until -65° F. Between -65° F and -70° F frozen crystals form throughout the liquid and at approximately -75° F it becomes a solid.'

Now that the accuracy of the thermometer has been scientifically confirmed, what was simply an interesting sourdough tale has been added to the growing accumulation of factual information on pioneer life in the Yukon. ◆

ON BUILDING A BIRCH-BARK CANOE

Text and diagrams by ALBERT BURGER
The author, a member of the youthful back-to-the land movement, cultivates fifteen acres near Faust, Alberta.

ELEANOR TOSHIKO HYODO

WHEN MARTIN AUGER was four years old, his father died. As the young boy grew up, it was from his mother that he learned ways of the Crees in the northern woodbelt of Alberta. He learned well. Martin is seventy years old now and living in Wabasca, a settlement of Indians and Métis two hundred and fifty miles north of Edmonton. He is one of the few remaining native craftsmen in a wide area – one of those who still possess great skill in crafts which will die with them when they finally join their ancestors. Recently we watched as he put one of his skills to work in the building of a birch-bark canoe.

Martin brought his wife, Marie, and a small grandson with him to the place where he would build the canoe. So the first task on hand for both man and wife was setting up camp. This consisted of a conventional tent and a teepee joined together. And then, while Marie made camp comfortable by moving in the single bed and the few belongings which they had brought, making the square firepit in the center of the teepee, and carpeting the ground inside with fresh-cut fireweed, Martin set out to collect some of the necessary materials.

He went into the bush with axe and hunting knife and, in his knapsack, a thermos of tea, a few strips of dried moosemeat and, his only concession to the white man, a bottle of mosquito repellant.

Some six miles distant from camp, Martin found a good stand of large birch among the poplars and spruces that predominated in the area. He selected a tree which was healthy and had suitable bark stretching eight feet or so up the trunk. The bark which Martin preferred was free of knot marks, and had a minimum of the typical white, horizontal 'birch markings'. 'For,' as he explained, 'the bark cracks easily at those markings, and will leak unless pitched thoroughly later on. And that's a lot of extra work.'

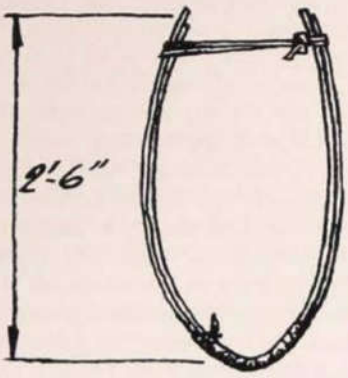
To find just the right bark, Martin tested a large number of trees by making a slight cut in the bark and bending it back far enough to see the characteristics. If it was found wanting, the bark was carefully pushed back and the search continued.

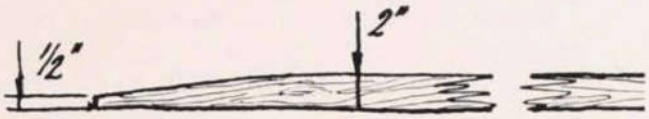
The bark was peeled off by making a single cut up the trunk and through the bark with the tip of the knife until there was enough space to grasp it with the fingers. The sheet was then carefully peeled off. The strips were about forty inches high, while the trees selected were all approximately sixteen to eighteen inches in diameter. This provided sheets of bark varying between three and four feet square. Nine sheets were collected from about half a dozen trees, two of which had to be cut down. After scraping the rough outer sides of the bark with his knife to remove moss and other materials Martin rolled the sheets with the outside in and opposite to the natural curl. A small piece of spruce root was used to tie the rolls, making them easy to carry.

Near the stand of birches, a black spruce approximately eight inches in diameter with a straight and branchless lower trunk was located. This was cut down and the lower twelve feet or so hauled back to camp with the rolls of birch bark. There a shallow hole about five feet square and a few inches deep was made in the ground. Great care was taken to ensure that the bottom was quite flat. The sheets of birch bark were unrolled and placed one on top of the other in the depression; then a board weighted down with some large rocks was placed on top to flatten and store the bark until it could be used. The moist earth on which it was placed prevented it from drying prematurely.

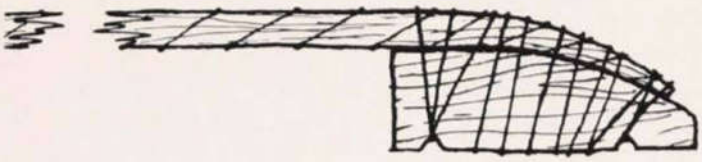
The next day, Martin began work on the spruce log. He placed one end on a short stump which had been cut out to hold the log steady while it was being worked on.

Martin Auger lashes two thin slats of willow together with willow bark and bends them (as below) to make ribs close to the bow and stern.





Four pieces of twelve-foot spruce, tapered at the ends as above, then lashed together and curved by tying them to blocks of wood (below) are used for gunwales.

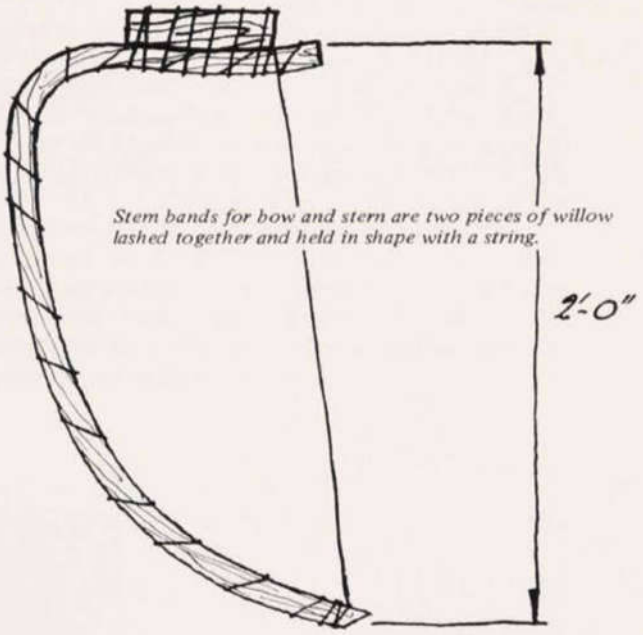


He explained that from this log he would make the longitudinal members of the canoe frame.

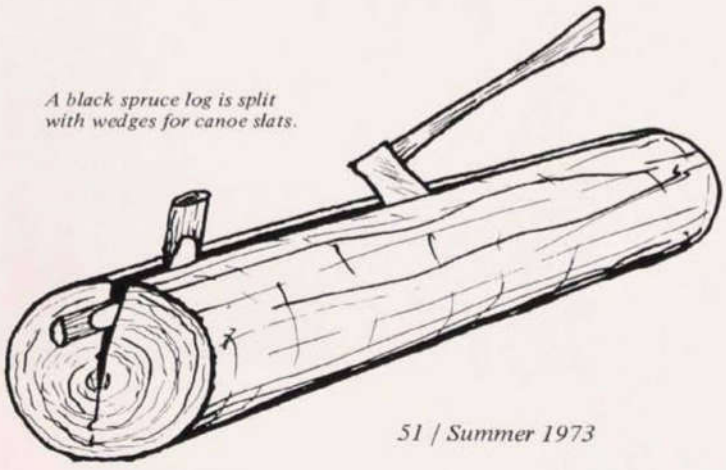
He proceeded to hew the log with his axe until he had fashioned a timber about two and a quarter inches thick and about seven and a half inches wide. When he was satisfied with its uniformity and thickness he finished both faces with a plane. Then with a saw, he ripped nine pieces of lumber from it. Of these, four were shaped with the plane and a special tool which Martin had made for the purpose from an old knife; the ends were then curved by bending and tying them to blocks of wood which he had previously hewn and planed to the desired shape.

Nearby, the old craftsman found a number of small willows about two to three inches in diameter. He cut them down and made from them a number of thick slats about two inches wide by one-quarter inch thick. These were bent to serve as the ribs for the ends of the canoe closest to the bow and stern. The two stem bands (one and a half inches in width and half an inch thick) were also made of this material. Willow was used because of the extreme curvature in the ribs at the bow and stern; spruce was to be used for the other ribs. The completed sets of ribs were left to dry on a crude tripod.

A spruce about sixteen inches in diameter and with a very straight grain was required next. From it, the thin slats for the planking were to be made. The long fiber of the black spruce (*Picea mariana*) made it especially suited for that purpose because of its great strength. When asked how many of these slats he would need, Martin simply said with a careful smile 'Oh many.' As he plodded through the bush with the measured steps of the woodsman, he examined many trees until he finally located one which seemed to satisfy him. This was cut down, and a piece of the lower trunk about five feet long was sawed off. The old man spat in his hands, took



Stem bands for bow and stern are two pieces of willow lashed together and held in shape with a string.



A black spruce log is split with wedges for canoe slats.

hold of his axe, and set to work splitting this log with the aid of some wedges cut from a small poplar.

When it was split at last, and Martin had examined the grain, he exclaimed, satisfied, 'Nee-ah'sun. Good.' The two halves were then split again to make four quarters. The centre was cut from these and discarded, making the pieces a little lighter and easier to carry back to camp.

There, the task of splitting off the rough slats from the quarter logs was tackled by making a cut at the end of it with an axe, and carefully working the blade down until a handhold could be gained on the slat. It was then pulled off with great care not to cross the grain and lessen the strength.

Approximately sixty-five slats were made. A number of these were carefully finished to about two and one half inches wide and one quarter of an inch thick. These spruce slats, in sets of three, were bent into shape to serve as ribs. The remainder were finished to uniform thickness but to more or less random width, and set aside for later use as planking.

The last materials required were the roots to be used in sewing together the bark of the canoe's covering. The long, tough, pliable roots of the white spruce (*Picea glauca*) were best suited to this purpose. The best product can be obtained from roots dug in the spring or fall, but as Martin explained, roots of sufficient quality can be found at almost any time of year.

A likely tree was selected and the ground prodded with a stick to look for the roots. When one was located, it was carefully followed to its end and dug up. Lengths of the spruce root may vary from three to twenty feet. Although the usual practice in preparing the spruce roots was to steam them to make the bark easier to remove, the aged artisan was able to accomplish this by simply soaking them in water; the roots he had selected were relatively thin. Once the bark had been removed, Martin split the root by biting the end to make a small incision, and then pulling it along his teeth dividing it lengthwise. He commented jokingly that because of his advancing years he was not as adept at this as he had once been; he had only a half dozen or so teeth left. The split roots were stored in a small bucket filled with water.

Now all the required parts for the canoe had been assembled and construction could begin. But first, a shelter was made from a number of small poplars. Two were selected with forks, in which a third poplar about fourteen feet long could rest to give the basic frame for the lean-to. A number of leafy branches from some nearby birches were placed against the south side of the frame. This provided shelter from the sun, protecting the materials from drying too fast, and providing some comfort for the builder.

On the ground, under the lean-to, two poplars of about four-inch diameter were laid. These were notched at intervals of about three feet to receive stakes which were driven into the ground on the outside of the two poplars. The space between was filled with earth to provide a working platform.

On this platform of dirt were placed the sheets of birch bark, shaped into the approximate form the canoe would take by stakes driven into the ground; rocks placed on the bark forced it into the required curve.

The main longitudinal members which had by now taken shape formed the inner and outer gunwales. The outer gunwales were ready for use just as they were. The inner gunwales had to be notched to receive the four thwarts which straddle the canoe. After placing the

Slats of black spruce for planking and ribs.

ELEANOR TOSHIKO HYODO

Birch bark shaped by stakes driven into the ground at three-foot intervals is weighted by rocks to force it into required curve.

thwarts, Martin tied the two gunwales together, making the canoe's basic top frame. Two identical pieces to fit inside the bow and stern were made from spruce.

Then, finally, the building of the canoe was begun in earnest. The gunwales were placed in position, a centre board about four inches wide and running the full length of the canoe came to rest on the bottom, and the inside bow and stern pieces just made were all set approximately in place.

From this point, the work became a co-operative task for both man and wife, as the sewing of the bark took place. Once begun, work with birch bark had to be completed as quickly as possible to prevent drying, for once this happened, it was likely to crack or break when worked.

The bow and stern were sewn together using alternate long and short stitches. They were bound off with a narrow piece of bark inserted between the gunwales. An extra strip of bark was inserted between the gunwales before finally fastening these together, giving a double layer at this point. The binding of the gunwales, through the bark skin, was done at intervals of about six inches for a length of two or three inches. Where the thwarts were located, the spruce root bindings were pulled through the thwarts in predrilled holes. The ends of the roots were fastened by pushing them through holes in the bark which had been made with an awl, pulling tight, and holding them by small wooden plugs.

Three of the ribs were placed approximately in position in the canoe, and the spruce planking was laid in place. A top board, about two inches wide, was put in place first. Then, four-inch-wide planking made its way down to the bottom member of the canoe. The same was done up the other side. The planking varied from four to five feet in length, so it was placed in three sections; first the middle, then the two ends.

When all the planking was thus laid in place, the ribs were put in and held in place by forcing them between the inner and outer gunwales on each side.

Trimming the outside of the bark skin, and pitching the sewn joints was all that was needed to complete the canoe. Spruce pitch was scraped from trees where the sap had run down the outside of the trunk and hardened. Martin explained that in the days when much of this pitch was used by the Crees, it would be collected, as maple sap is still collected today in eastern Canada. It would take up to three or four years for the pails to fill with pitch. It was then put in a basket of root netting and thrown into a container in which water was boiling. The netting would retain all the pieces of bark, moss or twigs, that had fallen into the pitch, while the hot water would melt the pitch itself. It could then simply be skimmed off the top of the water.

Martin boiled the pitch and skimmed off the impurities. It was allowed to cool and when it had hardened again, the water was poured off. The spruce gum was heated once more and a few spoonfuls of lard were mixed into it in order to render it less brittle and make it less subject to cracking after it had been applied to the canoe. The pitch was then spread over all the stitching, and every place where it seemed a leak might develop.

To finish off the project, and, of course, to make the canoe serviceable, two spruce paddles were made.

Martin Auger worked leisurely. The completed canoe took about five weeks to build. ◆

Ribs are put in place by forcing them between the inner and outer gunwales.

After stitching, the joints are sealed with spruce pitch.

Rediscovering Fort Pelly

By Deanna M. Christensen

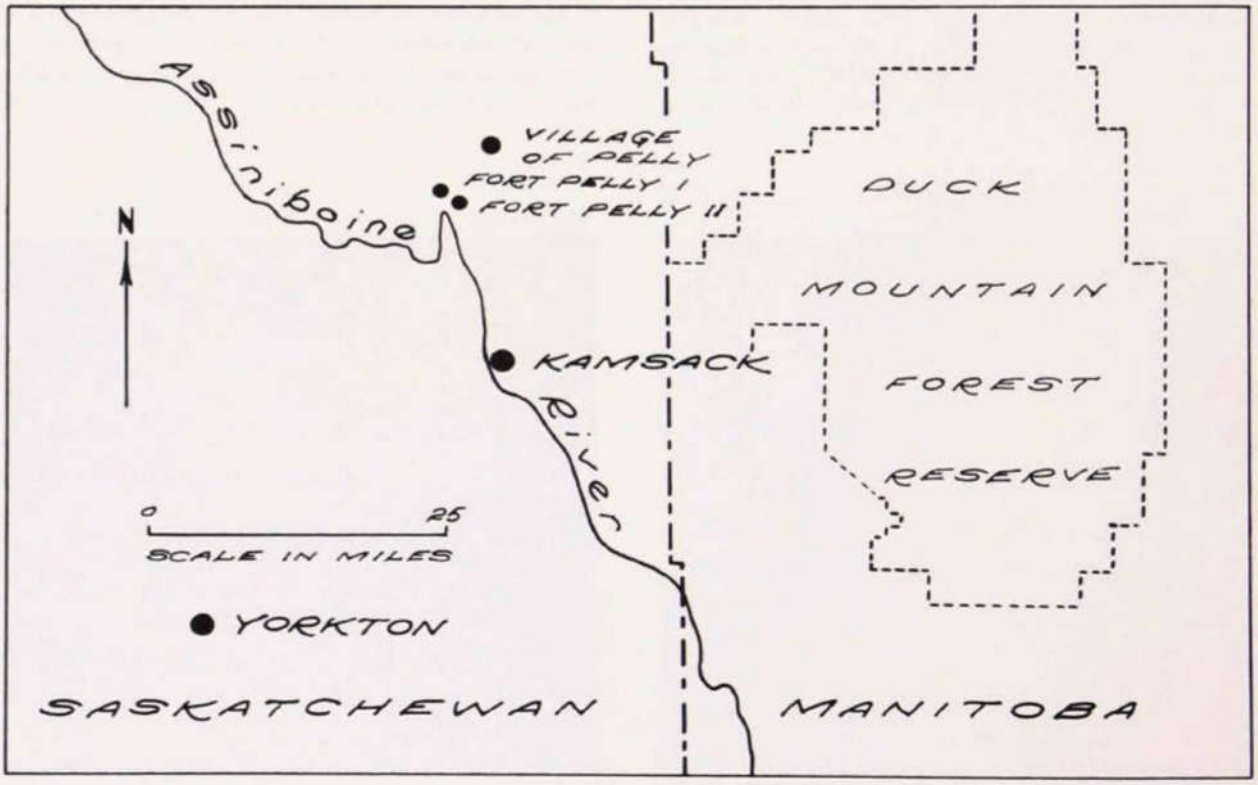
The author, a graduate in history, University of Saskatchewan, is a free lance writer.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to use archives references.

AFTER LYING ABANDONED and undisturbed for more than a hundred years, the original site of Fort Pelly at the elbow of the Assiniboine River in eastern Saskatchewan is under excavation. The location of this Hudson's Bay Company trading post has been known since settlers moved into the area while parts of the fort were still visible. Yet little was known about the physical aspects of the fort. Ground plans, sketches, and photographs of the post apparently did not exist, and the fur traders' journals made little mention of the number of its buildings or its size. Thus, when excavation was undertaken in 1971 by the Museum of Natural History, Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources, the location of the buildings and palisades of the post had to be re-established.

Fort Pelly was built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1824, three years after the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies. Outfitted from York Factory, it served as headquarters and distribution centre for the Hudson's Bay Company's Swan River district, and hence, was one of the more important trading posts in the Northwest. The post was destroyed by fire during the 1842-43 season, but was rebuilt on the same site. However, over the years, the location on a flat which was periodically flooded by the water of the nearby Assiniboine River proved unsuitable. This was rectified during the 1856-57 season when a new post, also called Fort Pelly, was built on higher ground one-quarter mile to the southeast. To distinguish between the two posts in government records the Fort Pelly which operated at the first site from 1824 to 1856 is called Fort Pelly I. Accordingly, the second post is known as Fort Pelly II.

Through the efforts of residents in the area, the sites of both forts were preserved and maintained relatively undisturbed until development could be undertaken. Fort Pelly II is now a national historic site, featuring interpretative panels, photographs, and the remains of chimneys and fireplaces. The land on which Fort Pelly I was situated was purchased by the University of Saskatchewan from a farmer, Fred A. Konkin, in 1944. Ten years later title to the land was transferred to the



PHOTOGRAPH, JOHN BROOK

Fort Pelly II in the 1870s, a painting by F. Lynn.

Government of Saskatchewan and the location is now a provincial historic site.

According to Murvin Baker, director of the Museum of Natural History in Regina, the excavation of the first fort is part of a continuing program to preserve Saskatchewan's heritage, while at the same time contributing to the ever-expanding knowledge of the fur-trade era. Two seasons of excavation work have been completed; thousands of artifacts have been collected and the remains of major palisade lines have been uncovered.

'We were interested in Fort Pelly because it served as a major supply and distribution centre for outposts to the south and west' Mr Baker says. 'We have no record of the number of buildings or their size so we hope to determine the physical aspects of the post. Just as important, we want to analyse the artifact material found at the site, and compare it with material recovered at Fort Carlton, which was in operation during the same period. We will also make comparisons with material from earlier posts — such as the Peter Pond and François-Finlay posts on the Saskatchewan River — and later posts, including Touchwood Hills, Last Mountain House and the Hudson's Bay Company store at Battleford, which was in use from 1868 - 1910.'

Ian Dyck, supervisor of historic resources at the museum said that the museum staff is working towards a basic inventory of fur-trade goods for specific time periods, and the material recovered at Fort Pelly will help fill a gap which existed for the 19th century. 'Different trading companies used different supplies' Mr. Dyck explained, 'and although some of the goods were common with all suppliers, other goods were quite distinctive. Then of course, as time passed, the traders and Indians became more sophisticated in the goods they used. For instance, a large number of trinkets, such as beads and copper decorations, are recovered at early posts; at later posts, an increasing number of metal tools and implements are found. By having controlled samples from posts built by the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West and XY Companies, and independent traders during the various time periods, we can prepare an inventory which will be useful in identifying newly discovered posts.'

For the general public, perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the excavation work was the museum's policy of welcoming visitors to the site while excavation was in progress. Open houses were held and special tours arranged; when small groups arrived at the site, crew members took time to outline how the work was being done and visitors were shown samples of artifacts which had been recovered. Mr Baker said the Department of Natural Resources was interested in encouraging people to become familiar with the archaeological work being conducted in Saskatchewan, particu-

larly since it was supported by public funds. Visitors to the site included the 1,000 who attended the open house held in August 1972, school students and their teachers, and visitors from various parts of Canada and abroad.

Mr G. C. Watson, museum officer, was in charge of the excavation at the site. His crew consisted of museum staff members, university students, and several residents from communities near the site. A small camp, consisting of a trailer, a two-room shack, and tents, provided living quarters and a laboratory for the non-resident crew members. Domestic chores were shared equally between the male and female crew members.

Although work at the site began in May 1971, a considerable amount of research was necessary before the actual excavation was started. Extracts from the Fort Pelly journals, supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company and Fred Klaus of the Fort Pelly Historical Society, were carefully examined; information was also supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in London. Journals and books written by fur traders, surveyors, explorers, and visitors to the Northwest were consulted. These sources outlined the day-to-day activities at Fort Pelly and provided information concerning the trade of the area, but with the exception of the first Fort Pelly journal, few physical descriptions of the post were given. Historical information gleaned from research served as the framework within which the excavators worked.

One of the first references to the establishment of Fort Pelly was contained in the 'Journal of Occurrences Kept in Swan River District 1824 & 25'. The entry dated 15 September 1824, noted that Mr G. Linton, 18 men and nine carts had left with the outfit for Fort Pelly. Three days later, on 18 September, Anthony Feistel, who kept the journal for Chief Trader Allen McDonell, reported: 'At 10 A.M. Messrs A. McDonell, C. Cummings and myself, accompanied by one man left Swan River House to join our people, who took their departure on the 15th Instant'. On the 20th, the group arrived 'with our whole party near the Elbow of the Red [Assiniboine] River, where we pitched our tents on a rising ground at a small distance east of the River, with the intention of building the Fort thereon'. The next day Feistel wrote:

> On further considerations it was found, that the wood is rather too far from the place we intended to build, the more, as our horses are but few, and thought more expedient to erect the Fort nearer the woods; we therefore decamped and pitched a very short distance back to the lower plain ground close to the woods, where we pitched upon a small eminence for our house. The situation is in a fine valley, environed by rising grounds on the E and W; and the N thick woods on the S a continuation of the valley, through which winds the [Assiniboine] River . . . Employed the men making a scaffold for our goods and provisions, cutting Palisades or Pickets for the Fort, digging a trench to form a square of hundred and twenty feet.

Thus Fort Pelly was founded on a flat one-quarter mile north of the elbow of the Assiniboine River, approximately eight miles southwest of the modern-day village of Pelly.

The fort was the second last trading house to be built on the upper reaches of the Assiniboine River, the last of course being Fort Pelly II, which was constructed some 32 years later. During the 1790s and early 1800s, traders representing the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had built a succession of posts on the upper reaches of the Assiniboine River, and for a short time the XY Company was also involved in the competition. Earlier houses included Fort Alexandria, Carlton House, Peter Grant's House, an XY fort and several posts bearing the name of Albany House or Fort Hibernia. The elbow of the river has been a favourite location for trading houses; Marlboro House, Albany House and Fort Hibernia had preceded Fort Pelly. Except for the periodic flooding of the low land adjacent to the elbow, the site had been well chosen. A short portage north led to Snake Creek and the Swan River, a river which flowed into the northern waterway to York Factory on the shore of Hudson Bay. And from the elbow, the Assiniboine River flowed southeast towards its junction with the Red River at Fort Garry, the future site of Winnipeg.

Following the selection of the site for the first Fort Pelly the men immediately set about the task of building the post. The palisade was erected, construction of the buildings was undertaken, and timber for boats collected. By 9 October 1824, a store and trading shop 40 feet by 20 feet had been built, and the roof had been mudded and covered with turf. It was recorded that the officers' house was also 40 by 20 feet in size, and it was to be divided into three rooms. Opposite the store and officers' house, a building measuring 8 by 20 feet was to be divided into four rooms to serve as an Indian hall and living quarters. Soon a small kitchen had been erected, and work had begun on a forge, workshop, stable, and a boat yard.

The first boat was off the stock 8 January 1825, and on 25 February it was recorded that Samuel Irvine had 'at last finished his boat'. Trading goods for furs, leather, and provisions was one of the most important activities carried on at the post, but domestic chores, hunting, and fishing required a great deal of time and effort. In addition, items such as kegs, tables, bedsteads, sledges, snowshoes, a coal kiln, tables, and other furniture were also constructed at the post. The first season was relatively successful, and on 25 April 1825, three boats and seven carts, accompanied by 16 men, hauled the season's accumulation of furs and buffalo products to the Swan River post for delivery to York Factory.

Although the physical aspects of the original fort were fairly well outlined in the 1824-25 journal, references in later journals usually only stated that new buildings were being constructed, the stockades were being enlarged, or a new stockade had been built: there was little descriptive information given. Yet the post must have changed considerably, even during the first few years, for in 1829, John Clarke, who took charge of

A 'Copeland and Garrett' plate reconstructed from pieces found in the cellar of the chief factor's residence.

Using a grid, Margaret Hanna maps the cribbing and foundation of the store cellar.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SASKATCHEWAN PHOTOGRAPHIC/ART SERVICES

An 1841 British penny bearing the likeness of Queen Victoria was found in the cellar of the store.

Fort Pelly in 1826, reported: 'Fort Pelly as it stands at present Has a good dwelling house, Indian House a range of Mens House Stores and Stables well stockaded in and with Bastions, which was not the case on my takeing charge of the District it being then in a most dilapitaeted state hardly fit for any purpose with no Gardens'. This dilapidated state in all probability was due to flooding in 1825 which, according to McDonell, 'destroyed all our Crops of Potatoes and Barley and carried off one half of our establishment'. By 1830 Chief Factor Colin Robertson and his family had settled into the 'big house', and the fireplace and chimney had been replaced with a stove. Other improvements during the 1830-31 season included a new stable, and in April 1831, the stockade was enlarged. And so it went: the renovation and construction program was an ever-continuing one, but few specific details are available.

By the 1830s the Hudson's Bay men were feeling the effects of competition from American and other free traders working farther south. In an effort to meet this competition, Fort Ellice was built in the Beaver Hills and other outposts were soon established in the Swan River district. As headquarters for the district, Fort Pelly became an important distribution centre in the area south of the Saskatchewan River system and west of Fort Ellice. From Fort Pelly, goods were distributed to the various posts, including Fort Ellice, Touchwood Hills, and wintering houses in the vicinity of the Qu'Appelle Valley. Conversely, furs and buffalo products collected at the outposts were hauled overland to Fort Pelly and then forwarded by dog-sled, ox-cart, and boat to Swan River, and then by York boat to York Factory.

William J. Christie was Chief Trader at Fort Pelly when a new post was constructed on higher ground to the southeast. This site was near the spot originally abandoned by McDonell because 'the wood is rather too far from the place.' The old post, which had periodically been flooded, continued in use for a few years, with the buildings serving as living quarters, warehouses, and stables. However, for all practical purposes, its role in the fur trade of the Northwest was over. The new post continued to serve as headquarters for the Swan River district until 1872, when the headquarters was moved to Fort Ellice, a post which was more strategically located on the transportation routes which developed through the emergence of Fort Garry as the terminus for goods and supplies brought into the Northwest via the American railway and Red River barge. Fort Pelly remained in use as a store and trading centre until 1912, and then it too was abandoned, eventually to become a national historic site.

The excavation of the original fort was begun in May 1971. When the crew from the Museum of Natural History arrived on the site it was completely covered with tall grass and rose bushes. During the clearing process, a heavy post was found partly exposed in a badger hole. The area around this post became the first excavation unit, and proved to be part of the original eastern palisade. Although the excavators knew that the original fort was 120 feet square and they had the dimensions of the first few buildings, information about renovations and reconstruction work was sparse.

After two seasons of work at the site, the physical aspects of the fort are beginning to take shape and gaps in its history are being filled by archaeological means. To date five buildings have been located; cellar depressions indicate that there were at least two more buildings at the site. The buildings located and tentatively identified are the warehouse, the chief factor's house, a kitchen, a blacksmith shop and accompanying forge and tempering trough, and a stable. The base of a flag pole and what appears to be the remnants of a blockhouse were also uncovered. The original east and north palisades were located the first year, and during the second season an extension to the east palisade was found. Part of the north palisade was uncovered in situ, where it had apparently fallen over and been buried.

Tamarack and spruce timber had been used in the construction of the buildings, and depressions or indentations regularly spaced on the well preserved foundation of the warehouse indicated that the post-on-sill method of construction had been utilized. The warehouse, measuring 24 feet by 75 feet, was the largest building excavated. The cellars at the chief factor's house and the store were both lined with log cribbing. Ash layers found at several of the building excavations indicated that the buildings had been destroyed by fire and then rebuilt at the same site.

The most common recoveries at Fort Pelly were hand-wrought and machine-made square nails, fragments of trade pipes, small glass seed beads, and broken ceramics. The ceramic fragments were found in all

G. C. Watson examines some of the buffalo bones, which were numerous at the Fort Pelly site. The trench marks the location of the east palisade.

excavation units, and the pieces that could be identified were classified as Copeland Late Spode. A notable find in 1971 was an almost completely restorable plate which was discovered in pieces in the blacksmith's tempering trough. In 1972 another plate was reconstructed from sherds found in the cellar of the chief factor's residence. The trademark on this plate was Copeland and Garrett, a trademark which was used only between the years 1833 and 1847. Also of interest was an 1841 British penny which was found in the cellar of the store. The complete bowl of a meerschaum effigy pipe, with what appeared to be the head of Zeus adorning it, was retrieved at the site of the chief factor's house, and the cap from a pocket watch of the key-winding type was recovered at the warehouse.

A large number of artifacts associated with clothing, such as metal, bone and shell buttons, needles, dress-making pins, thimbles, hooks and eyes, and a richly engraved darning needle made of lead (bodkin) were found, with actual clothing being represented by two shoe soles, one heel and a small piece of green stroud cloth. Retrieved tools and parts of tools included a metal hoe blade, a trade axe, files, chisels, offset awls, metal trade points, two long bone harpoons, a large fish hook, gun flints, gunworms, and a serpentine side plate. Although table-ware was not commonly found, several knives, including one with an intact incised bone handle, were recovered. Other noteworthy finds included a jew's harp, two dog-harness bells, two baling seals, several keys and parts of locks, and large spun-glass beads.

Despite the journal's frequent referral to the construction and use of boats at Fort Pelly, an oarlock was the only substantiating evidence found. Mr Watson, in charge of the excavation believes the lack of such evidence was probably due to the fact that a new fort had been built to replace the earlier one, and a transfer of equipment, supplies, goods, furnishings, and tools would have been made. Most of the artifacts found at the original site would be ones which had either been lost or were no longer needed.

Although two seasons of excavation work have been completed at the site, another may still be required. In the meantime, the cataloguing and analysing of artifact material is being carried on at the museum. Hopefully, the results of this work will provide information of value to the researcher, the historian, and the archaeologist. The final development of the site is currently being discussed with representatives of the National Historic Sites Service in Ottawa. More immediately, a special display of artifacts has been set up in the Museum of Natural History in Regina, enabling visitors to see a glimpse of the past, which has been captured and preserved by the excavation of the site of the Hudson's Bay Company's first Fort Pelly. ◆

NORTHERN BOOKS

INDIAN LIFE ON THE NORTHWEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA
As Seen by the Early Explorers and Fur Traders during the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century

By Erna Gunther, University of Chicago Press, 1972. xiv + 271 pp. illus., map, index, bibliography. $15.00.

Reviewed by Douglas Leechman

Dr Gunther's *Indian Life on the Northwest Coast* should be required reading for every student in an anthropology class. Not only would it expand the knowledge of such a student but it would show what can be done and how to do it.

Here Dr Gunther has made a most important contribution to anthropology. Undoubtedly her *magnum opus*, it reveals her mastery of her subject in all its aspects. Her previous familiarity with the Indian cultures of the Northwest Coast enabled her to read with much understanding the many journals and documents she studied; in fact she has even been able to detect slips and errors in them.

The importance of this work lies in the fact that it is a synthesis. Many, perhaps most, anthropologists collect facts and artifacts, occasionally write a paper, catalogue the specimens, put them in storage collections or on exhibition, and there the matter ends. Not in this case. Here all the literature that is available has been studied, all the collected 'curiosities' have been examined and sometimes even identified as the actual specimen of which mention is made in one of the many diaries and journals. This type of presentation is one of the fundamental aims of anthropology, an aim which many have overlooked or forgotten; many who can write an excellent paper on a certain subject cannot rise to the standard of scholarship that synthesis demands.

The research for this volume involved travel to many museums and libraries where the journals of expeditions and diaries of fur-trade captains are held. Journals of many of the Spanish expeditions are still in Mexico City not yet translated and seldom seen. The curios collected by government officers were not considered the official property of the government and are more scattered. Many are presumably in private hands; yet others, in surprising numbers, are in museums from one end of the earth to the other – often with no labels, incorrect labels, or illegible labels. Careful study of them has thrown fresh light on an admittedly obscure subject.

The author refers to the voyage of Juan de Fuca as 'apocryphal', but it seems impossible that Juan de Fuca could describe the strait and the inner sea with its myriad islands so accurately in his conversations with Michael Lok when they talked together in that tavern in Venice, unless he had actually been there. His descriptions cannot be mere visions seen in wine bottles. However, to say a voyage is apocryphal does not flatly deny its possibility.

The author's competent style makes for easy reading and understanding of a matter which is, in fact, often technical. A less facile author could bury the whole subject in obscurity.

The illustrations are numerous and really do illustrate. Many of the specimens photographed and some of the drawings are seen for the first time, and there are a few old familiar friends too.

Dr Leechman, now retired, former anthropologist with the National Museum, Ottawa, has written many papers and books on the Indians of Canada.

A HISTORY OF ALBERTA

By James G. MacGregor. Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton, 1972. 321 pages, illus, maps. $10.00.

Reviewed by W. G. Hardy

This is an important book for North Americans. Until Alberta became a province in 1905, or for rather more than half of his account, the author, while focussing on his favourite part of Canada, also describes the overall development of the Canadian prairies and woodlands as far as the Rockies with occasional incursions into what are now the Northwest Territories, the Yukon and British Columbia. In these pages one reads with absorption the story of the coming and the varying cultures of the original inhabitants, of the first white explorers and surveyors, the fur traders and their posts and rivalries, of missionaries, Chief Factors, tribal battles, the first white settlers, the apogee of the Plains Indians' way of life, the American whisky forts, the arrival of the 'Mounties', the passing of the buffalo and the herding of the Indians on to reservations. One continues with the building of the CPR, the 1885 Riel rebellion and the gradual infiltration of ranchers and farmers, an infiltration which by 1905 had swollen to a torrent.

This part of the book is a closely packed, fast-moving account. Even after Alberta had become the 'Princess province', its story carries the reader into federal politics, two world wars and a second and third 'American invasion', the first being the influx of settlers from the United States into its farmlands. Basically, however, from 1905 onward, Dr MacGregor is concerned with Alberta's political and economic development. He describes the theories and movements which for five decades made the province a political 'maverick'. He is lyrical about its natural resources and the use made of them, although he is also conscious of how farming and coal mining were diminished by the opening of the Northland during and after World War II, by the discovery and exploitation of Alberta's immense reserves of oil and natural gas and by the ensuing burgeoning of industry. There is, however, an interesting dichotomy in the author's attitude towards these changes. While proud of the province's resources and their utilization, he often harks back with nostalgic regret to the days when seismic lines did not criss-cross its northern forests and when pulp mills and petrochemical plants did not pollute what had been a scenic paradise. As an example of Dr MacGregor's perceptive feeling for beauty, on page

148 he writes about the fall of 1885:

> Turning the tamarack of the northern muskegs to yellow, the autumn scampered across the parklands to leave them aglow with gold and flew out over the short grass plains to paint the cherry leaves of the coulees red.

Here is the author's feeling for unspoiled Alberta. Throughout the book, an argument for proper conservation is implicit. Equally appealing is his sympathy for the Indians both during the acme of their colourful past and in the uncertainty of their present and future.

A History of Alberta is also a treasure-house of authentic information, invaluable for the student and interesting for the general reader. The thirty-two pages of photographs, depicting in many cases the laborious way in which the early settlers broke the land and tilled the soil, and built their sod-roofed homes and bringing back the horse and buggy days along with the unpaved streets and frame buildings of what were to become modern metropolises, are reminiscent of a vanished life-style; although by contrast there are pictures of Alberta's cities and universities as they are today.

These photographs enhance the value of the book. So do the maps and diagrams. Of these, the endpaper maps in colour are not only attractive but also give the reader an overall picture of the development of the province. Those in the text clarify a number of the points, such as how the surveyors parcelled the country into sections (page 116) or the location of Alberta's oilfields and pipelines (page 288). There are remarkably few proof-reading errors. One might note that in the map on page 175 Wetaskiwin has dropped down to be on a level with Drumheller, that on page 318 (Appendix) we have the spelling of Fort MacLeod as Fort Maclead and that on page 29 the photograph of the University of Alberta should be captioned as viewed from the northeast.

Dr Hardy author of a number of histories and historical novels is retired Head, Department of Classics, University of Alberta.

THE MAD TRAPPER OF RAT RIVER

By Dick North. Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1972. 127 pages, illus. $6.95.

Reviewed by W. G. Fraser

I first saw this book by Dick North on a shelf in MacLeod's, Sydney, N.S. during one of my weekly visits there. My first reaction was 'Oh no! not another one on the Mad Trapper'. My curiosity though, did get the better of me and I bought a copy for my collection of 'Things Northern'.

I must admit I was into the story only a very short way when I realized this was a more reliable and convincing story than the ones that had gone before and up came nostalgic memories of my own dog-team patrols in that same area almost a generation later but while a few of the participants in that episode were still active. Many the camp fire I have shared with Karl Garhland and Knut Lang while they regaled me with stories and relived that whole episode and chase.

I know something too of the frustration of Knut Lang when he looked in upon Johnson in his dugout; he, Lang, had been forbidden by Inspector Eames to throw in another stick of dynamite, which at that moment would certainly have ended the chase. Knut Lang, in his heart, knew too that Eames was properly guided by a sense of justice and fair play.

This is a well told and factual account of events from the time of Johnson's first shot at Constable 'Buns' King until the tragic affair ended in Johnson's death some fifty days later.

This is, too, an interesting, but speculative account of the origin and perambulations of Johnson just prior to his appearance on the Peel River in the foothills east of the Richardson Range. Although I use the word 'speculative', I must admit the facts are somewhat convincing, particularly the information concerning the rifle – its manufacture, distribution and eventual sale in the Yukon – which sale could well have been to Johnson. Accepting that as fact, Johnson then was actually Arthur Nelson and some of the mystery surrounding Johnson has been conclusively cleared up.

The author is to be commended for his tenaciousness, his perception and above all his sincerity in bringing to light this knowledge, and doing so without being ostentatious.

Only one who has travelled by dog-team in that rugged country can understand the hardship involved in a search and operation of the nature detailed here by Dick North.

That Johnson was a rugged individual, there never was any question. He lived alone and his conditioning to hardship and deprivations stood him in good stead when being hunted.

Once Johnson took the fatal step in attempting to murder a policeman, he must have known that from that moment on there would be no peace and he would be hunted, found and brought to justice, or pay the supreme penalty for his resistance.

The struggle that followed is told in a readable manner. The account will be read not only now but later when it will become part and parcel of the history of our North, and of the Force that tried time beyond time to have Johnson surrender and face his peers rather than be dispatched by frontier summary justice.

W. G. Fraser, now retired Superintendent of 'G' Division (the northern territories) served for many years with the R.C.M.P. in the Arctic.

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THE MILEPOST

Edited by Bob Henning. Obtainable from Box 4-EEE, Anchorage, Alaska 99509. 466 pages, illus. $2.95 U.S.

Reviewed by Malvina Bolus

Revised every year by on-the-spot investigation, this is the handy guide for the Alaska Highway. Not only the Highway, which it covers mile by mile (and it includes access routes to Mile 0 at Dawson Creek) but places reached by side trips in Alberta, British Columbia, the Yukon, as well as thorough coverage of Alaska. There are good road maps and street maps of the various communities. Descriptive notes deal briefly with history, population, industries, crafts, temperatures, travel hints, game laws, and points of interest. There are special reports for rock-hounds and fishermen.

For those who do not wish to drive all the way, there is information about airways, seaways, railroads, and buses.

Among unexpected items are a brief history of Hazelton (the H B C did not have a post here till 1880 though Thomas Hankin mentioned in the history transshipped goods for them before that), notes on nearby Gitksan villages, and a sound short article on totem poles derived from Viola Garfield's book; historical data about Fort St James, and more recent Vanderhoof.

Altogether there is a mass of information in this moderately priced guide, useful for reference and highly recommended for the traveller.

Malvina Bolus, now retired, was formerly editor of The Beaver.

EXPLORATION OF KAMCHATKA, 1735-1741

By Stepan P. Krasheninnikov, Translation and introduction by E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan. Oregon Historical Society, Portland, 1972. Index xxxiii + 375 pp, illus, maps. US $13.75.

Reviewed by Natalie B. Stoddard.

Mrs Crownhart-Vaughan has undertaken a herculean task in providing the English-speaking world with a modern translation of Stepan Krasheninnikov's complete work on the description of the Kamchatka peninsula, *Opisanie Zemli Kamchatki.* The work is well known to those interested in the history of Siberia and Russian America, but has not been generally available until an abridged English version, first published in 1764, was reprinted by Quadrangle Books in 1962. Mrs Crownhart-Vaughan has used the Russian edition of 1949 edited by Berg and the unabridged, enriched 1770 French edition by d'Auteroche, and considering the difficulties engendered by the use of two translations of the original, she has done a very creditable job. The translation is extremely easy to read and is a marked step beyond the terse, choppy sentences, and awkward constructions usually associated with translations.

As a junior member of the group of scientists who were part of the Second Kamchatka Expedition, Krasheninnikov was charged, because of mitigating circumstances, with detailed instructions to study and note everything of a scientific nature on the Kamchatka peninsula. The young man left in July 1737 from Iakutsk and in the following three years, much of which he spent alone, he observed, collected specimens, and made notes on all he saw and learned. On his return to St. Petersburg after 10 years with the expedition, he was appointed professor of natural history in 1750. The original of the present translation was published in 1755, shortly after his death.

Krasheninnikov's work is divided into four parts. The first, 'Kamchatka and the Neighboring Countries', is a description of the geography of the region in which the author names and describes in minute detail the major and minor streams, the bays suitable for safe anchorage, the climate, the mountains, some of which were very active volcanoes when he was there in the 1730s, the Kurile Islands which punctuate the sea between the tip of Kamchatka and the islands of Japan, and the trails which criss-cross the peninsula. In his description of the off-shore islands, Krasheninnikov relied heavily on Steller's notes (to which he fell heir), having visited only two or three of the islands himself.

Part II, 'The Advantages and Disadvantages of Kamchatka', deals with natural phenomena – volcanoes and hot springs – and available natural resources – metals, plants, animals, fish, birds. Throughout this section is a great deal of intercalated ethnological information. Each animal, vegetable or mineral description is amplified by native uses. Further ethnological information is given in Part III, which describes the 'appearance, manners, language, names, dress' of the Kamchadals. Krasheninnikov speculates on their place of origin, settling on Mongolia beyond the Amur River on the bases of similarities in language and physical appearance – criteria used in anthropology today to determine place of origin of native peoples.

Part IV covers the regional history, including Russian discovery and conquest of the peninsula, native uprisings, a chapter on the Cossacks and the ready market for Russian trade goods. Lists of native settlements subservient to the five major Russian ostrogs include the tributes made in furs. A final chapter deals with land and water routes from Iakutsk to Kamchatka.

Despite the scarcity of archival study materials relating to Kamchatka specifically and Siberia in general, Mrs Crownhart-Vaughan has compiled an extensive bibliography including bibliographical guides, atlases and maps and a number of secondary sources in Russian, French, and German, including all the well known published journals relating exploration of the northwest Pacific area.

It is unfortunate that Mrs Crownhart-Vaughan did not check more extensively on some of the information put forth in the translation. The wolverine, noted in the legend accompanying the picture on page iv as 'thought to be extinct in Siberia', according to a Canadian authority is by no means extinct in eastern Siberia and is even found around the more populated areas of western Siberia. On pages 112-14 of the translation, Krasheninnikov gives a precise description of *Heracleum Sphondylium L.*, the cow parsnip, which has been translated as 'sweet grass', no doubt confused with *Hierochloë*, the sweet grass genus.

The researcher using this book should be advised of certain drawbacks. The endnotes have been split in two sections, one following the introduction, the other after the translation. Not all the sources cited in the notes are found in the bibliography. Credit lines on all the illustrations would have been helpful: one does not know whether the pictures accompanied one or both of the sources used for translation or were simply handy to the translator and pertinent to the subject. In light of the wealth of information contained herein, a more complete index would have been welcome, as would more extensive notes.

In the foreword, Basil Dmytryshyn, professor of history at Portland State University, says that Krasheninnikov's work initiates a series of translations of little-known sources on the early history of the northwest Pacific. This first volume is an excellent addition to the ethnology and ethnography of Siberia shortly after contact; in that regard, this and future issues should prove extremely useful to anthropologists and historians interested in this part of the world.

Natalie B. Stoddard edits the publications of the National Historic Sites Service in Ottawa. She has a particular interest in the early Russian-American fur trade.

THE UNCHANGED STANDARD: "choice goods as can be bought for money"

"You are to send us home by every return of our Ships all such goods as are either defective or not acceptable to the Natives, and to inform us wherein they are deficient And also to direct us exactly as you can of what form, quality conditions every sort of goods wch. is demanded there ought to be for the best satisfaction of the Indians, And wee will do our utmost that you shall be supplied wth. every species of Commodity in perfection."

LETTER TO GOVERNOR NIXON FROM THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, LONDON, MAY 21, 1680

Hudson's Bay Company
INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

The Company store at Spence Bay, N.W.T.

THE ARCTIC– Served now as in the past by the men of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Hudson's Bay Company
INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670